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VOL. XLV	CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER 1950	NO. 4
Thucydides and the Athenian Disaster in Egypt	H. D. Westlake	209
The Scope of Lucan's Historical Epic	Richard T. Bruère	217
The Grain Trade between Greece and Egypt	Carl Roebuck	236
Notes and Discussions		248
PREScott W. TOWNSEND: Conservatores or Curatores of the Pagus Thuggensis?—Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire.		
Book Reviews		251
CARL WENDEL: <i>Die Griechisch-römische Buchbeschreibung verglichen mit der des vorderen Orients</i> (Sanders).—JOHANNES LOHMANN et al. (eds.); <i>Lezis: Studien zur Sprachphilosophie, Sprachgeschichte, und Begriffsforschung</i> (Whatmough).—VICTOR MARTIN: <i>La Vie internationale dans la Grèce des cités (VI^e—IV^e av. J.-C.)</i> (Roebuck).—H. G. PFLAUM: <i>Le Marbre de Thorigny</i> (Larsen).—FELIX STÄHELIN: <i>Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit</i> (Larsen).—ALEXANDRE ALBENQUE: <i>Les Rulènes: Études d'histoire, d'archéologie et de toponymie gallo-romaines</i> (Larsen).—F. A. LEPPER: <i>Troyan's Parthian War</i> (Howe).— <i>Humanitas</i> , Vol. I (Bruère).—ERNST PERCY: <i>The Probleme der Kolosse- und Epheserbriefe</i> (Johnson).—MARION ELIZABETH BLAKE: <i>Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus: A Chronological Study Based in Part upon the Material Accumulated by the Late Dr. Esther Boies Van Deman</i> (Johnson).—ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON and LOUIS C. WEST: <i>Reunited Egypt: Economic Studies</i> (Boak).—LESLIE WALKER KOSMOPOULOS: <i>The Prehistoric Inhabitation of Corinth</i> , Vol. I (Hopkins).—HORST RÜDIGER (trans.): <i>Griechische Lyriker: Griechisch und deutsch</i> (Lind).—PAUL CLOCHE: <i>Le Siècle de Périclès</i> (Dorjahn).		
Books Received		265
Index to Volume XLV		267

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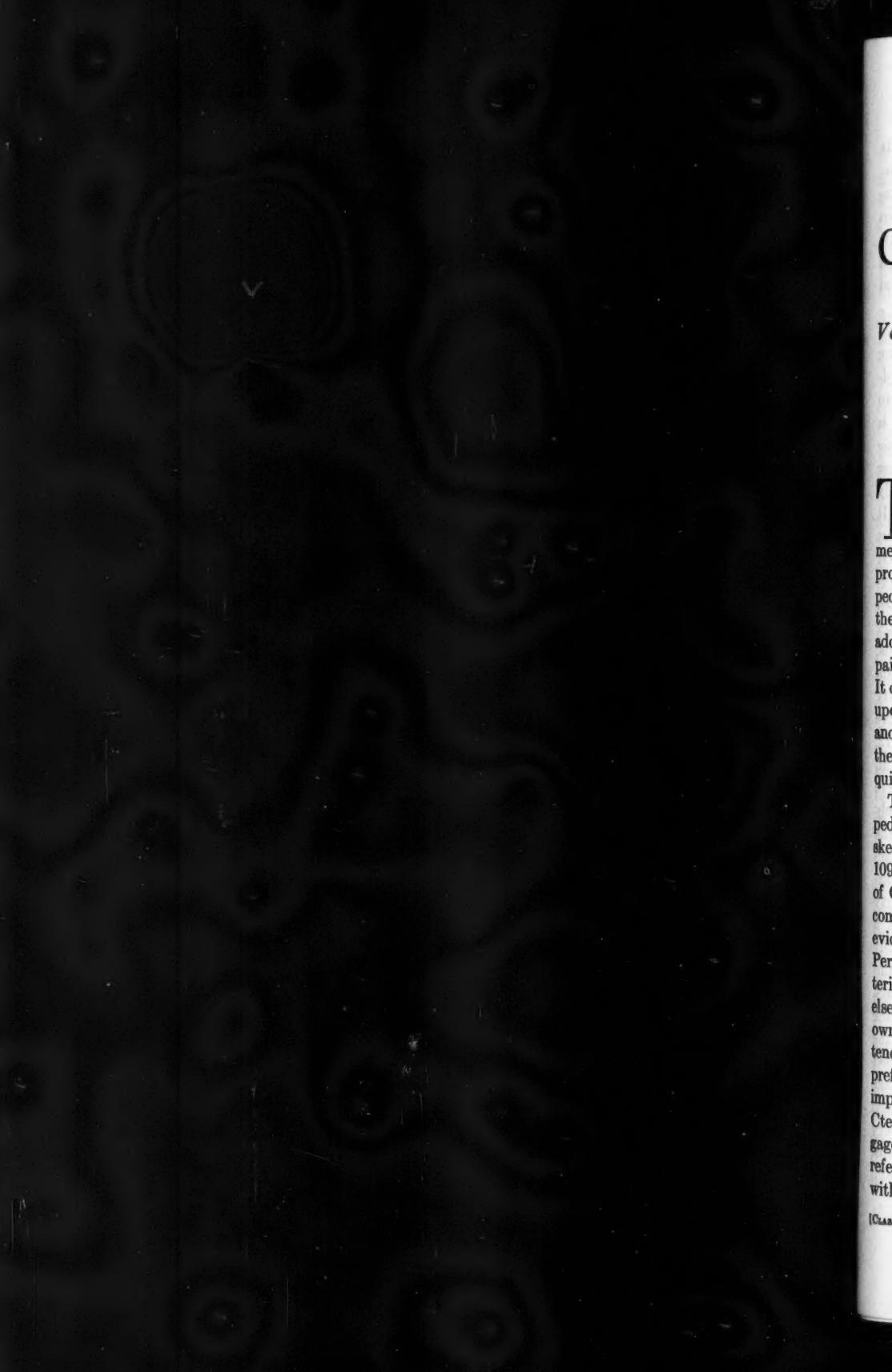
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THUCYDIDES AND THE ATHENIAN DISASTER IN EGYPT

H. D. WESTLAKE

THE subject of a fifth-century inscription from Samos published in 1939 by W. Peek is a naval engagement between Greeks and Persians very probably belonging to the Athenian expedition to Egypt.¹ It cannot be said that the new evidence makes any substantial addition to our knowledge of the campaign, which remains as obscure as ever. It does, however, throw a little fresh light upon the merits of the literary authorities and suggests that some reassessment of their credibility and completeness is required.

The two principal accounts of the expedition, the one by Thucydides in his sketch of the Pentekontaetia (i. 104 and 109–10) and the other by the epitomator of Ctesias' *Persica* (32–37), have little in common except their brevity.² Ctesias evidently narrated this episode from the Persian point of view and derived his material from Persian sources, but he seems elsewhere to have drawn freely upon his own imagination,³ and there has been a tendency, on the whole well-justified, to prefer the account of Thucydides. On one important point, however, the version of Ctesias is now confirmed: the naval engagement to which the Samian inscription refers is almost certainly to be identified with the crushing defeat of the Persian

fleet at the beginning of the campaign mentioned by the epitomator of the *Persica* (*Pers.* 32). Thucydides, on the other hand, merely states that the Athenians and their allies sailed up the Nile and were in control of the river when they captured most of Memphis and began their investment of the White Castle (i. 104. 2). It is true that he chooses to confine his narrative to the barest summary when dealing with the middle years of the Pentekontaetia and that the campaign in Egypt is not altogether relevant to the principal theme of his excursus, which is the growth of Athenian power.⁴ Nevertheless, the virtual omission of a major battle is not wholly explained by these considerations.⁵ Together with other deficiencies, which will be discussed below, it may well be due not to compression but to ignorance.

It is remarkable that Thucydides nowhere states the total extent of the losses sustained in Egypt by the Athenians and their allies. His narrative, as it stands, seems to imply clearly enough that the enterprise cost, from first to last, considerably more than two hundred ships with the greater part of their crews. From shortly after his own time⁶ until the end of the nineteenth century every reader apparently accepted this implication with-

out hesitation, and such is the impression that his account would undoubtedly convey if studied *in vacuo*. Eduard Meyer seems to have been the first to feel misgivings when he suggested, somewhat tentatively, that part of the fleet may have been withdrawn after its initial successes.⁷ More recently, in consequence of the substantial progress made in reconstructing this period, several scholars have argued that losses in Egypt on a scale approximately equal to those of the Sicilian expedition cannot be fitted into the pattern of Athenian history in the middle of the fifth century. A disaster of such magnitude must have had most damaging repercussions, of which there is scarcely any trace,⁸ upon Athenian interests both in Greece and in the Delian Confederacy. The arguments whereby it has been shown that the Athenian losses can have amounted to only a fraction of the figure implied by Thucydides have been widely, though not unanimously, accepted,⁹ and will not be reconsidered here. If, however, the implication of Thucydides is rejected, it is necessary to explain its origin. On this question there have been two rival views. Some scholars believe readers of Thucydides to have been at fault in concluding that as many as two hundred Athenian and allied ships were sent to Egypt from Cyprus;¹⁰ others believe Thucydides himself to have been at fault in omitting to mention, because his account of the Pentecontaetia is sketchy and incomplete, that a large proportion of the Athenian fleet was withdrawn from Egypt for service elsewhere.¹¹ Both views involve the assumption that he possessed full information on the actions of the Athenians throughout the campaign and did not intend to create the impression that his narrative has created. This assumption is surely unwarranted. The error could, and perhaps does, lie neither with his readers

nor with himself but with his sources. It may be that, because he had no information of any Athenian withdrawal, he mistakenly believed the entire fleet of two hundred ships to have remained in Egypt throughout the six years of the campaign and thus to have been involved in the final disaster.

A fatal objection to the first of the two explanations mentioned above is that the meaning of the sentence in which Thucydides records the Athenian response to the appeal of Inaros, *οἱ δέ (ἐπυχον γὰρ ἐς Κύπρον στρατεύμενοι ναυοὶ διακοίταις αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων) ἥλθον ἀπολιπόντες τὴν Κύπρον* (i. 104. 2), is ambiguous only to those determined to find ambiguity. It undoubtedly means that all, or almost all, the two hundred ships operating off Cyprus were sent to Egypt.¹² No moderately careful historian could have written the sentence in this form if the greater part of the fleet had remained off Cyprus. The alleged parallel of the later expedition to Cyprus under Cimon,¹³ when only sixty ships from a fleet of two hundred were sent to help Amyrtaeus in Egypt (i. 112. 2-3), is not a true parallel. The Egyptian revolt had in 450 been reduced to a mere smoulder, and little advantage was likely to be gained by lending support to the rebels on a large scale. It is true that according to Ctesias the Athenian fleet assisting Inaros amounted to only forty ships (*Pers.* 32). This statement is a valuable piece of information, especially as the Persians are unlikely to have understated the strength of their opponents, and may well be correct for most of the period of six years during which the operations in Egypt continued.¹⁴ A fleet of forty, probably enjoying an advantage in seamanship, might well have defeated a Persian fleet of eighty, but the very heavy losses sustained by the Persians, amounting to twenty ships captured and

thirty destroyed according to Ctesias, are more easily credited if they were inflicted by a fleet of nearly two hundred. Support for the view that a large proportion of the two hundred Athenian ships did not sail to Egypt has also been sought in the Erechtheid inscription with its record of Athenian casualties in Cyprus, Egypt, and Phoenicia in a single year.¹⁵ It does not, however, point to this conclusion. The year in which these casualties occurred is not necessarily the first year of the Egyptian expedition,¹⁶ and those sustained in Cyprus and Phoenicia, which may have been very few, do not necessarily imply operations involving a considerable number of ships. At all stages of the Egyptian campaign it was in the interest of the Athenians to divert Persian attention from the main theatre of war. Raids on the Phoenician coast, and perhaps on Cyprus as well, may have been conducted by ships detached from the fleet in Egypt, and these ships may subsequently have sailed either back to Egypt or home to Athens. Many hypotheses suggest themselves, all equally conjectural. Nor does the new inscription from Samos, with its reference to a naval battle [Μέμ]φιος ἀμφ' ἐπαρῆς, indicate that the Athenian and allied fleet is more likely to have numbered about forty than two hundred. It is true that the Nile at Memphis is not sufficiently broad for a fleet of two hundred ships to have fought an action on conventional lines there.¹⁷ Topographical accuracy is not, however, to be expected in a dedicatory epigram of this kind, and the author evidently found difficulty in hammering his material into most uninspired verse. He could have written as he did if an Athenian fleet of two hundred defeated the Persians at the mouth of the Nile (*καὶ θάλασσαν, Pers.* 32) and a section of it, including the Samian contingent, had pursued the fugitives upstream as far as

Memphis,¹⁸ where the prizes to which he refers were secured, perhaps in cooperation with land forces under Inaros.¹⁹

The narrative of Thucydides is very differently, and somewhat more convincingly, interpreted by those who maintain that, while the Athenians sent to Egypt the whole fleet of two hundred operating off Cyprus, they withdrew some three-quarters of it not long after the victory mentioned by Ctesias, which gave them the undisputed control of the Nile mentioned by Thucydides.²⁰ Large naval forces could not hasten the reduction of the White Castle; they could be, and evidently were, employed to much better effect in home waters. Hence it is maintained that the squadron retained in Egypt and eventually blockaded at the island of Prosopitis amounted to not more than about forty ships, the figure given by Ctesias. This reconstruction of events, though by no means complete or beyond doubt, is more consistent than the other with what is known of Athenian military history in this period.²¹ It also receives a little additional support from a reference in Justin, who records that, while the resources of the Athenians were weakened by the despatch of a fleet to Egypt, they suffered a naval defeat at home,²² but *interiecto deinde tempore post redditum suorum aucti et classe et militum robore proelium reparant* (iii. 6. 6-7). Although the chapter in which this passage occurs bristles with the grossest blunders, Justin may have preserved an authentic point of some importance.²³ The failure of Thucydides to refer to the reduction of the Athenian fleet in either section of his narrative on the Egyptian expedition, or at some point between them, is attributed by advocates of this reconstruction to his extreme brevity in dealing with the middle years of the Pentekontaetia. They point to other omissions of greater or less

importance, and it is undeniable that he could have been guilty of such an oversight here. On the other hand, there is no demonstrable hiatus in his account or between its two sections; indeed, he begins his second section with the words *οι δ' ἐν τῇ Αἴγυπτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ξυμμαχοὶ ἐπέμενον* (i. 109. 1). It is difficult to reconcile his use of this phrase with the assumption that he was aware of the Athenian withdrawal but omitted to mention it. He would scarcely have stated so categorically that the Athenians stayed on if he had known that most of them withdrew. If, as is possible, the withdrawal took place before the last event mentioned in the first section of his account, namely the investment of the White Castle (i. 104. 2), he would surely have written "those of the Athenians and their allies left in Egypt" or "not withdrawn from Egypt."²⁴

Confirmation of the view that he had no knowledge of an Athenian withdrawal may be found in the language and arrangement of the chapter in which he describes the end of the campaign (i. 110). In contrast to his usual practice of understatement, he lays great emphasis both upon the magnitude of the expedition and the magnitude of the disaster. His closing words are *τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην στρατείαν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐς Αἴγυπτον οὐτως ἐτελεῖτον* (i. 110. 4). It happens that the phrase *μεγάλη στρατεία* occurs nowhere else in his work, and his use of it here is the more striking in that he tends to depreciate the scale of naval expeditions anterior to the Peloponnesian War.²⁵ In recording the operations at the Eurymedon (i. 100. 1), off Cyprus in 450 (i. 112. 2-4) and against Samos (i. 115-17), all involving the employment of two hundred ships by the Athenians, he does not use similar language, though admittedly these were enterprises of much shorter duration than the expedition to Egypt. In the Peloponnesian War itself

the expedition of Sitalces with his huge army is not described as great (ii. 101. 6, *τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Σιτάλκου στρατείαν οὐτως ἐγένετο*), while the first Athenian intervention in Sicily, conducted initially by twenty ships, later by sixty, and lasting about three years, did not impress him greatly (iii. 90. 1). His insistence on the magnitude of the disaster in Egypt is striking: he uses terms closely parallel to those with which he ends his account of the great Sicilian expedition (cf. i. 110. 1, *οὗτοι μὲν τὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων πράγματα ἐφέρονται ἐπηρεάσαντας* καὶ ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν πορευόμενοι διὰ τῆς Λιβύης ἐς Κυρήνην ἐσώθησαν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἀπώλοντο with vii. 87. 6, καὶ ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐπ' οἰκου ἀπενεστησαντας).²⁶ A campaign conducted throughout most of its course by a fleet of some forty ships was considerable, and a disaster involving the whole of this fleet with most of the crews and also part of a further squadron was serious enough, but it may be doubted whether either would have evoked from Thucydides this abnormal emphasis in a largely irrelevant section of a highly compressed excursus. His arrangement of material in describing the fate of the Athenians is equally significant. The sentence quoted above in which he stresses their losses (i. 110. 1) is the climax of the drama. Yet it does not occur at the end of the whole tragedy but after the debacle at Prosopitis, which is evidently the most important episode. To it are appended notes on two subsidiary episodes, the fate of the Egyptian rebels and their leader Inaros (*ibid.*, 2-3) and the fate of an Athenian squadron, amounting to fifty ships, which arriving in the mouth of the Nile after the fall of Prosopitis was surprised by the enemy and lost a large proportion of its strength (*ibid.*, 4). The arrangement of this chapter may have been influenced by Greek dramatic practice, but it surely suggests that the losses sustained by the squadron of fifty,

which perhaps amounted to some thirty-five ships with their crews,²⁷ were far less serious than those of the fleet destroyed at Prosopitis. If Thucydides had believed the latter to have consisted of only about forty ships, some of the crews escaping to Cyrene, he would have arranged his narrative differently, for the two defeats would have seemed to him at least comparable in their cost to Athens.

Some information provided by Ctesias perhaps explains how Thucydides came to overestimate the extent of the disaster. The epitomator states that more than six thousand Athenians surrendered to the Persians (*Pers.* 34), a figure consistent with his earlier statement that the Athenian fleet amounted to forty ships.²⁸ He adds that Megabyzus undertook to allow these men to return home unharmed.²⁹ Diodorus also refers to this surrender (xi. 77. 4-5); evidently Ephorus, reading Thucydides and Ctesias together, concluded that all the survivors from the two hundred ships originally sent to Egypt were permitted by agreement with the Persians to reach Cyrene in safety.³⁰ There is every reason to accept the surrender as authentic: it is difficult to understand why the Persians should have invented it. Their chief aim was to rid themselves of the Athenians in order that they might complete the suppression of the revolt. They probably had no wish to provoke reprisals, and their action may mark a first step towards the Peace of Callias. There is also every reason to believe that Thucydides was ignorant of the surrender, which was far from creditable in that the survivors had bought their safety at the price of abandoning Egypt and may even have been repudiated. Despite the compression of his narrative he could scarcely have failed to mention this vital point if he had been aware of it.³¹ On the other hand, he could well have known the number of those repatriated by way of Cyrene,

namely six thousand, and omitted it as a detail of subsidiary importance. This knowledge, combined with ignorance that the Athenian fleet had long before been reduced from two hundred to about forty, would lead him to infer a loss of more than thirty thousand men and thus to write δλιγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐσώθησαν, οἱ δὲ πλειστοι ἀπώλοντο (i. 110. 1).

The sentence in which Thucydides records the arrival of the fifty Athenian ships in the Nile after the fall of Prosopitis raises a further difficulty and probably contains another error (i. 110. 4, ἐν δὲ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς ἀλλης ἔνυμαχίδος πεντηκοντα τριήρεις διάδοχοι πλέουσαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔσχον κατὰ τὸ Μενδήσιον κέρας, οὐν εἴδοτε τῶν γεγονότων οὐδέν). There is no doubt that διάδοχοι means "relief" or "substitute" and not "reinforcement."³² In the fifth and fourth centuries διάδοχος and διάδοχή seem to have invariably contained the idea of taking over some function, or more rarely of inheriting some property, from another; they imply succession, not assistance and cooperation.³³ Thucydides thus means that the squadron of fifty ships was sent to replace part of, possibly all, the fleet operating in Egypt, which was to have then sailed home.³⁴ It is, however, difficult to believe that the Ecclesia can have voted such a replacement at this stage. The blockade of Prosopitis lasted eighteen months (i. 109. 4), and when the squadron of fifty was despatched, the Athenians must either have known that their troops had been defeated and were being invested or, having received no news for more than a year, have felt serious anxiety for their safety. Their decision was surely the outcome of bad news or no news, very probably the former.³⁵ In either case the situation clearly demanded that the fleet should be extricated from its present dangers,³⁶ known or suspected, and not that any part of it should be replaced, an

operation likely to be hazardous and unlikely to be profitable. During the siege of the White Castle reliefs may perhaps have been sent to replace ships no longer fit for active service. In the critical period after the victory of Megabyzus, just as in the Sicilian campaign after the Syracusans had gained the initiative, only assistance and reinforcement can have been contemplated. Here again Thucydides seems to have been misled by faulty information.

As has been suggested in the foregoing pages, there is reason to believe that on no less than four points of substance Thucydides' account of the Athenian expedition to Egypt is defective. He was probably ignorant of the naval victory won at the outset, ignorant of the subsequent withdrawal involving a substantial reduction of the Athenian fleet, ignorant of the surrender by the survivors of the blockade at Prosopitis and misinformed on the sailing orders issued to the squadron of fifty sent out at the end of the campaign. The deficiency of his information is not at all surprising if his difficulties in collecting material on this period are fully appreciated. They were probably at least as great as those of Herodotus in collecting material on the invasion of Xerxes. To obtain accurate information on the Peloponnesian War was, as he points out, a laborious task because eyewitnesses were untrustworthy (i. 22. 3); to reconstruct *τὰ παλαιά* with any certainty was almost impossible (i. 1. 3 and 20. 1).³⁷ The Pentekontaetia occupies an intermediate stage to which he does not happen to refer in his introduction, though he does remark later that it was a neglected period (i. 97. 2). Both in quantity and in quality the available material must have been even less adequate than for the events of the Peloponnesian War: to a much greater extent the passage of time had thinned the ranks

of potential informants and increased the risk of distortion on their part. The question when and where he wrote the sketch of the Pentekontaetia is a particularly controversial part of a controversial issue, which lies outside the scope of this paper.³⁸ If, however, as was once generally agreed and is still believed by many scholars, he added it after his return from exile, very few survivors of the Egyptian expedition can have then been alive. If, as has been recently maintained and seems very probable, he wrote it not long after 424, while he was absent from Athens,³⁹ he can hardly have had the opportunity of consulting Athenian sources, oral or documentary. He could have revised it after his return, but there is good reason for believing that it never received a thorough revision. Yet his greatest handicap perhaps was that he was here without the immense advantage, which he mentions among his principal qualifications for writing on the Peloponnesian War, of having lived through the period *αισθανόμενος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ*.⁴⁰

Thucydides was probably not more than about six years old when the news of the disaster in Egypt reached Athens. The consternation with which it was received may have been among his earliest recollections, doubtless making a deep impression upon him at a time when he was far too young to assess its true significance for himself. There is also good reason to believe that he was related to the Philidae,⁴¹ and he is likely to have been brought up in a family circle where the seriousness of the Athenian losses was overrated because the expedition had been undertaken and conducted by the political opponents of Cimon.⁴² Hence a mistaken preconception may have been added to the probable inadequacy of his information.

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NOTES

1. Peek, *Klio*, XXXII (1939), 289–306. The restoration [*Μιγάδιος ἀμφὶ παρῆς*] in the second line is convincing. The article is not easily obtainable in this country, and it is only through the kindness of Professor F. E. Adcock that I have been able to see a copy. I am also indebted to him for having read a first draft of this paper and for having made valuable criticisms and suggestions.

2. The longer account by Diodorus (xi. 74–75 and 77, 1–5) is founded upon an attempt by Ephorus to reconcile the accounts of Thucydides and Ctesias (Meyer, *G. d. A.*, IV², 1, 552, n. 3; Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, II², 1, 173, n. 1). It has a little independent authority because Ephorus must have read the *Persica* unabridged; he was, however, far too eager to defend Athenian honour at all costs.

3. Antiquity considered Ctesias to be thoroughly untrustworthy (cf. Plut. *Artaz.* 1. 4), but the Photian epitome probably does him less than justice.

4. Momigliano, *Aegyptus*, X (1929), 191.

5. A much less serious omission by Thucydides is the victory of Inaros at Apries. It is mentioned by Herodotus (iii. 12, 4, cf. vii. 7) and was probably known to Thucydides, who must have chosen to omit it because it took place before the arrival of the Athenian fleet (Diod. xi. 74. 3 is palpably mistaken on this point).

6. Cf. Isochr. VIII. 86 (the whole of this passage seems to be founded upon a casual study of Thucydides).

7. *Op. cit.*, IV², 1, 570, n. 1 (III. 606 in the first edition). Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, III, 1, 331, n. 3, had rather earlier mentioned the possibility of such a reduction but concluded that it must have been almost negligible.

8. Meiggs, *JHS*, LXIII (1943), 21–34, finds evidence of disaffection, especially in Ionia, in the years preceding 450. Some of this unrest may, as he suggests, have been encouraged by the disaster in Egypt; it does not, however, appear to have been very serious or widespread.

9. Cary, *CQ*, VII (1913), 198–201; Adcock, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.*, 1926, 3–5; Wallace, *TAPA*, LXVII (1936), 252–60. Cloché, *L'antiquité classique*, XI (1942), 219, n. 1, who himself expresses a cautious acceptance of this view (*ibid.*, p. 220), points out that a few have rejected it; others appear to have ignored it.

10. Cary, *loc. cit.*, followed by Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 301–2.

11. Adcock, *op. cit.*, 4–5; Gomme, *Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, I, p. 322, "the general sketchiness of the *Pentakontaëtia* must account for it" (cf. his long list of omissions, *op. cit.*, I, 365–69).

12. Adcock, *op. cit.*, p. 3. Ephorus (Diod. xi. 74. 3, cf. 71. 5 and xiii. 25. 2) and Aristodemus (F. 11. 3–4, Jacoby) interpreted this passage as meaning that the whole fleet operating off Cyprus sailed to Egypt.

13. Cary, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

14. The Athenian commander was an otherwise unknown Charitimides (*Pers.* 32); he was still in command some four years later when Megabyzus defeated the Athenians and Egyptians (*ibid.*, 33). It was unusual for the Athenians to renew a command several times unless the holder were a well-known figure. In this case the fleet was operating far from home, but communications with Athens must have remained uninterrupted throughout the siege of the White Castle. Hence Ctesias or his epitomator may well have

known that when Megabyzus invaded Egypt the Athenian fleet consisted of 40 ships under Charitimides and have mistakenly assumed that the same fleet under the same commander defeated the Persians at the beginning of the campaign.

15. *I.G.*, I², 929, 1–4.

16. Gomme, *op. cit.*, I, 311 and 412, n. 2; Meiggs, *op. cit.*, p. 29, n. 42.

17. Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

18. It is by no means impossible that the entire fleet may have sailed as far as Memphis (cf. Thuc. I. 104. 2). The Persian fleet of Megabyzus, said to have numbered 300 (*Pers.* 33; Diod. xi. 77. 1), apparently did, and Persian fleets sent to operate in Egypt in the fourth century were very large (Diod. xv. 41. 3, cf. 43. 1 where Iphicrates planned to sail up the Nile to attack Memphis; xvi. 40. 6).

19. Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 299, argues that Inaros, whose participation in the battle is implied by Ctesias (*Pers.* 32), would not have proceeded northwards leaving the enemy in the rear. But Inaros apparently had no ships, and Ctesias surely means only that the naval battle resulted in a victory for the rebel cause, of which Inaros was the leader, and not necessarily that he was present. It was natural that he should remain in the neighbourhood of Memphis and equally natural that the Persians should send their fleet downstream to prevent the Athenians from establishing contact with him.

20. The suggestion of Meyer, *loc. cit.*, that some of the fleet was withdrawn has been developed by Adcock, *op. cit.*, p. 4; Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 257 and Gomme, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

21. For example, Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 259, points out that the Athenians had to use the "oldest and youngest" to defend the Megarid in 458 (Thuc. I. 105. 3–4) and yet could muster a large army for the battle of Tanagra in the following year (I. 107. 5).

22. Apparently the Corinthian victory at Halieis (Thuc. I. 105. 1).

23. Trogus (*Prol.* iii) in the book here epitomised by Justin apparently gave an account of the Egyptian revolt recorded from the Persian point of view and perhaps derived from the unabridged *Persica* of Ctesias.

24. As his text stands, οἱ τὴν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμαχοι in I. 109. 1 are surely identical with those whose achievements are described in I. 104. 2.

25. Of the expedition against Troy he expresses the opinion τὴν στρατευλαῖς ἐκλύνει μεγίστη μὲν τετράται τὸν τρόπον αἰτήσῃ, λειχούσην δὲ τὸν τρόπον (I. 10. 3).

26. Pearson, *TAPA*, LXXVIII (1947), 48, n. 24, draws attention to the similarity of the language used in these two passages. Cf. also iii. 112. 8, ὥλιγχος ἀπὸ τολλάτων ἐσάθησεν (the Ambraciots disaster at Idomene).

27. I. 110. 4. Both ancient and modern scholars have magnified the losses of this squadron, cf. Schol. *ad loc.* and Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 258, "a relieving squadron . . . was almost wiped out." Thucydides does not imply that much more than half the squadron was lost.

28. Cary, *op. cit.*, pp. 199–200. Busolt, *loc. cit.*, assumes that this figure includes Athenian citizens only, but surely the Persians, from whom Ctesias derived his material, would have drawn no distinction between citizens and non-citizens.

29. His story that the Athenian prisoners were taken with Inaros to the Persian court where 50 of them were executed (*Persa* 35-36), if it has any foundation, probably refers to men from the squadron surprised in the Nile. They would not be protected by the local agreement made with Megabyzus by the commanders of the other Athenian fleet.

30. The mention of this surrender by Diodorus is surely fatal to the view of Momigliano, *op. cit.*, 199-205, that Ephorus did not use the *Persica*.

31. Although he does not expressly deny that any Athenians surrendered, it is difficult to understand the view of Busolt, *op. cit.*, III, 1, 331, n. 1, that a surrender is not incompatible with his account.

32. Adcock, *op. cit.*, p. 4; Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

33. The other passages of Thucydides in which διάδοχος (iii. 115. 2; vii. 15. 1; viii. 85. 1) and διάδοχη (ii. 36. 1; iv. 8. 9; vii. 27. 3 and 28. 2) occur all point to this interpretation. There are many similar examples in fourth-century prose. Isaeus vii. 14 and Isocr. xix. 43 illustrate the legal sense.

34. According to Adcock, *loc. cit.* (cf. Peek, *loc. cit.*) διάδοχος πλειστοις ἐτύπωτος contains a hint that the Athenian fleet in Egypt at this time amounted to only about 50 ships, the relieving force of 50 being sent to replace a force of approximately equal size. Very probably the fleet in Egypt did not exceed this figure at the end of the campaign, but the words used here by Thucydides surely admit of two other interpretations. He could mean (and whether he was right or not is immaterial) either that the relieving force of 50 was sent to replace part of a fleet of 200 or that the relieving force of 50 was sent to replace the whole of a fleet of 200 (i.e., a substantial reduction was intended). Elsewhere he uses διάδοχος in the singular only, but approximate equality of function appears to be a much stronger ingredient in this word than approximate equality of numbers. For example, the plural occurs twice in a passage where Herodotus (ix. 21. 2-3) describes how at Plataea an Athenian force of 300 relieved a Megarian force of 3,000 (*ibid.*, 28. 6); although his account is not above suspicion, what matters is that he can use διάδοχοι despite the disparity of numbers. In the legal sense Isocrates (xix. 43) uses διάδοχοι τῆς αὐληροποίης where several persons are to succeed to the estate of one man.

35. With most of Egypt in sympathy with the Athenians single messengers can have had little difficulty in evading the Persians. Even the large forces of Megabyzus can scarcely have maintained a complete blockade of Prosopitis (Mallet, *Les rapports des Grecs avec l'Égypte*, pp. 38-39). The island was of considerable extent (Hist. ii. 41. 5), and the Athenians could hardly have continued their resistance so long unless they had been able to replenish their stocks of food. The ignorance that caused the squadron of 50 to be surprised by the enemy (*οὐκ εἰδότες τὸν γεγονότων οὐδέν*) was surely not of the blockade at Prosopitis but of the final disaster there. Thucydides deems worthy of mention the fact that its commanders chose the Mendesian arm of the Nile, which was not

one of the three major branches; their purpose may have been to evade the Persian fleet and reach Prosopitis without being intercepted, but the Persians learned of their approach, possibly from a captured despatch, in time to concentrate large forces against them.

36. It is difficult to understand why Cloché, *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XXV (1946-47), 67, believes that the blockade was considered at Athens to be "sans péril grave." Even though the information available to the Athenians may have been incomplete, it must have been obvious that their troops, surrounded by superior forces at a point many miles from the open sea, were in a very dangerous situation. The complacency ascribed to the Athenian commanders by De Sanctis, *Pericle* 122, is hardly credible unless the statement of Thucydides that their forces were blockaded and besieged, i. 109. 4, is dismissed as false or grossly exaggerated; even if they felt confident of being able to evade the Persian land forces whenever they chose, the likelihood of an encounter with the Phoenician fleet mentioned by Thucydides, i. 110. 4, could not be ignored.

37. In both these passages he appears to refer to all Greek history before the Peloponnesian War, but scholars have doubted with good reason whether he intends to include the Pentecontaetae in either case, and the text of the first passage may be defective (Gomme, *op. cit.*, I, 91-92 and 135-36).

38. Almost all problems connected with the work of Thucydides are in some degree affected by the major problem of its origin and growth (Romilly, *Thucydide et l'impérialisme athénien*, p. 10).

39. Gomme, *op. cit.*, I, 362-63, cf. Hammond, *CQ*, XXXIV (1940), 146-52. This view is, in my opinion, much more convincing than that of Ziegler, *Rh. Mus.*, LXXVIII (1929), 58-67, who dates the sketch of the Pentecontaetae, with other excursions, very early (cf. the very brief summary in *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.*, 1912, 9, of a paper by Harrison). This early dating of the excursions, which has not been widely accepted (Gomme, *op. cit.*, I, 154, n. 1; Schmid, *Gesch. d. griech. Literatur*, I, 5, 149, n. 3), requires more detailed exposition than it has received. Each excursion surely presents a separate problem. It is much easier to accept an early date for the account of Pausanias and Themistocles (i. 128-38) than for the sketch of the Pentecontaetae; and these two excursions, which overlap one another considerably, can scarcely have been originally intended by Thucydides, as Ziegler apparently believes, to form part of the same general history of the past.

40. v. 26. 5. One reason why he describes the Samian revolt at greater length than earlier episodes of no less importance may be that he was probably passing from boyhood to manhood when it occurred.

41. Finley, *Thucydides*, pp. 9-10 and 29.

42. The attitude of Pericles towards the expedition is unknown, and there is no indication whether Thucydides approved of his policy before 445 (cf. ii. 65. 5).

THE SCOPE OF LUCAN'S HISTORICAL EPIC

RICHARD T. BRUÈRE

IN THIS paper it is proposed to assemble and discuss evidence bearing upon the scope contemplated by Lucan for his historical poem. Although formal appreciation of an incomplete epic is hardly possible in the absence of a hypothesis concerning its scope—to determine the extent to which a poet would have achieved his purpose one must take into consideration what this purpose was—no agreement on this question has been reached, and for many years there has been little awareness of its importance.

That Lucan's poem is incomplete, breaking off as it does in the midst of a sentence with Caesar in mortal peril on the Alexandria mole, is too evident to require proof; that if it is to attain a tolerable conclusion the narrative should be carried beyond the *Bellum Alexandrinum*, hardly less so.¹ There is no reason to suppose that the ancients possessed more of the poem than we do, and strong indications that they did not.² None of the statements concerning Lucan found in ancient writers has to do with what the poem, had it been completed, would have contained; with the exception of what may be inferred from some verses of Statius,³ there has survived no allusion to its unfinished condition.⁴

The question of the scope of the poem was first raised by Sulpitius, the best of the renaissance commentators on Lucan,⁵ who believed, basing his conclusion upon internal evidence, that Lucan planned to continue his poem to the re-establishment of peace after Actium.⁶ In the seventeenth century the English poet Thomas May composed a *Continuation* of Lucan's poem

to the death of Caesar, which he subsequently recast in Latin hexameters; the title *Continuation* makes it probable that May originally chose the death of Caesar merely as a convenient stopping point; however he soon became convinced that he was thus fulfilling the intentions of his predecessor.⁷ Brébeuf, who not only translated Lucan with independence and felicity, but added a pleasing romantic episode to the sixth book,⁸ thought that Lucan did not attain the halfway mark.⁹ Weber in his *Prolusio*¹⁰ argues that Lucan meant to end with the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, a view he later modified, when having come to believe that *BC*¹¹ i. 1-7 formed a later *exordium* and i. 8-66 an earlier one, he surmised that when Lucan composed the first introduction he had intended to continue to the definitive peace which followed Actium, but as his feud with Nero exacerbated his republican bias, he resolved to go no farther than Philippi, which marked the end of organized republican resistance, although by no means that of internal warfare, and with this in mind wrote the second introduction.¹² Since Weber's second article no consequential effort has been made to come to grips with the problem. On the basis of five passages of the poem W. E. Heitland opts for the assassination of Caesar as terminal point;¹³ F. Plessis accepts Weber's hypothesis of two *exordia*, but does not, it would seem, believe that the second one was designed for a poem ending with Philippi. He thinks it likely that Lucan set out to recount the entire series of civil conflicts that continued, with occasional respite, for a period of

over twenty years.¹⁴ In an appendix to the monograph in which he establishes that Livy was the chief if not the sole historical source employed by Lucan, R. Pichon guesses that Lucan planned to end with the quadruple triumph celebrated by Caesar after his African campaign of 46 B.C. This he endeavors to justify by assuming that since the sixth book of the *BC* corresponds to the sixth *Aeneid* (both have to do with the lower world), the *BC*, like the *Aeneid*, would in its complete form have contained twelve books. Judging from the Livian *Periochae*, Pichon continues, the full text of Livy provided, for the period between the point at which Lucan stops and this triumph, an amount of material that could appropriately be included, perhaps with the omission of some episodes, in the two additional books needed to round out the dozen.¹⁵ Reasoning of this sort would require Silius' *Punica* to comprise twenty-six books instead of seventeen, for Silius, a devout Virgilian, placed his *victoria* in book thirteen. E. Bignone speaks tentatively both of Caesar's death and Actium as possible endings,¹⁶ and a similar uncertainty may be inferred from two articles of E. M. Sanford which touch upon the subject.¹⁷ The most recent statement concerning the scope of the poem says no more than: "In all probability Lucan intended to continue the narrative to the death of Caesar, if not further."¹⁸

The acceptance of the "title" as internal evidence has been the cause of much confusion. Since the evidential value of the "title," if any, is wholly external, this matter will be discussed before reviewing external evidence of a more substantial nature; following this review an examination will be made of the internal evidence found in the text of the poem.

Weber's belief that Lucan had entitled his poem *Pharsalia* played a large part in determining his choice, in the *Prologio*, of

Philippi as terminal point.¹⁹ In the *Commentatio*, he conjectures that the designation *Bellum civile*, which is attested by the manuscripts and the Suetonian and Vacan *Lives*, was the title given by the poet to an earlier comprehensive version, corresponding to the "first *exordium*" (i. 8-66), whereas the later and shorter version, introduced by the "second *exordium*" (i. 1-7) was entitled *Pharsalia*.²⁰ It is noteworthy that Julius Caesar Scaliger had taken exception to the title *Pharsalia*, on the ground that it was not sufficiently inclusive for the poem as it stands.²¹ Plessis is reluctant to discard the term *Pharsalia*, even if it be imputable to the error of some renaissance humanist. He nevertheless declares that had Lucan realized his design of a great poem covering the entire period of civil strife it would properly have been entitled *De bello civili* or *De bellis civibus*.²² Pichon, taking *Pharsalia* to be the title of the poem, cites *BC* ix. 985-86: "Pharsalia nostra/ vivet" (a misinterpretation of which gave rise to the fancied title) as an argument against the comprehensive version envisaged by Plessis;²³ the Postgate-Housman explanation of this passage renders Pichon's argument valueless.²⁴ The "title" *Bellum civile*, which with the alternative *De bello civili* is generally accepted by philologists today, is a serviceable designation for the poem as it exists (that the ancients so designated it is indicated by the evidence of the manuscripts, of the ancient *Lives*, and by the phrase *belli civilis ingens opus*, which Eumolpus employs in Petronius' *Satyricon*,²⁵ plainly with Lucan's poem in mind), but it is gratuitous to assume that Lucan assigned this title to the books he composed, or planned to use it for the completed poem.²⁶ The value of the designation *Bellum civile* as external evidence is that it may at one time have been used to describe the poem as Lucan's contempo-

aries thought it would be upon completion, and it will be seen that Eumolpus' phrase supports this view. However, by the time the Suetonian Life was written, it was used, somewhat loosely, with reference to the poem as it stood or to a portion thereof.²⁷

Modern usage tends to restrict the term "civil war" in this connection to the conflict between Julius Caesar and his senatorial adversaries, whereas the plural commonly comprehends the entire period of internal warfare culminating in Actium, but the plural is also used of Caesar's civil campaigns, and of those of his adopted son, while the singular may designate the two decades of civil dissension which came to an end in 29 B.C.²⁸ In the Middle Ages²⁹ and later antiquity³⁰ this struggle was customarily conceived as one between Caesar and Pompey; the circumstance that Lucan finished no more of his poem than he did certainly contributed a great deal toward the establishment of this concept. More germane to this investigation, however, is the manner in which Lucan's predecessors and contemporaries regarded this subject, for their views may be expected to have conditioned his.

Caesar refers to the warfare of 49–45 B.C., which he understandably thought had come to a definitive end with Munda, by the singular *civile bellum*.³¹ Cicero repeatedly speaks of the operations of 49–45 as *proximum bellum civile*, and in the eighth *Philippic* calls it the fourth of a series of civil wars of which the *bellum Mutinense* is the fifth.³² It may be doubted that Cicero regarded the *bellum Mutinense* as distinct from the civil warfare which shortly preceded it. In this speech he sedulously avoids relating the present disturbance to the *proximum bellum civile*, which was for him a delicate subject. He had transferred much of his antipathy toward Julius Caesar to his *magister equitum* An-

tony, and hoped to reverse Munda by making use of Octavian; once this was done, Octavian would pass from the stage,³³ the senatorial party, finally victorious in the civil struggle, would once more take over the government, and Cicero would resume his role of elder statesman. That Caesar's death was merely an incident in an unresolved civil conflict was the opinion of Hirtius, who in the preface of the additional book which he composed to finish the story of Caesar's Gallic campaigns, written in the short interval between the dictator's death and his own, can see no end to the struggle.³⁴ Both Virgil and Horace, in works they wrote prior to Actium, speak of a continuing period of civil war. The note of despair sounded by Hirtius recurs with increased intensity in the seventh and sixteenth *Epodes* of Horace, which antedate 37 B.C.³⁵ Nearly contemporary with Horace's: "Quo, quo scelesti ruitis, aut cur dexteris/ aptantur enses conditi?" (*Ep.* 7. 1–2) and "Altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas" (*Ep.* 16. 1) are the lines of the first *Georgic*:

ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi;
nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro
Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos

[489–92].

Caesar's murder was followed by sinister portents, in accordance with which a second destructive battle took place in northern Greece. Caesar's death serves as connecting link between Pharsalia³⁶ and the battle of Philippi proper. The long succession of civil disasters still continues, as the following verses show:

hunc saltem everso iuvenem succurrere saeclu
ne prohibete. satis iam pridem sanguine nostro
Laomedontae luimus periuria Troiae

[500–502].

The extraordinary relief that followed the return of peace after Actium permeates

the ninth *Epode*. Horace, followed in this by Virgil,³⁷ was too tactful to stress the civil nature of the war against Antony and Cleopatra, save for the hint in the comparison of the present joy with that felt upon the rout of Sextus Pompeius (7-9), but although war had been declared on Cleopatra alone, the ensuing campaign was generally considered the final phase of the civil struggle.³⁸ In his life of Atticus, Nepos refers to Caesar's civil warfare as *Caesarianum civile bellum* (7), and uses the expressions *bellum gestum apud Mutinam* (9) and *proelium Philippiense* (11). At the time these chapters were written the conflict was still in progress, and the unity of its successive stages was less apparent than it became later when the entire complex could be viewed in retrospect.³⁹

The first history undertaken when such a perspective had become possible, so far as is known, was that of Asinius Pollio. This work began with the consulship of Metellus and Afranius (60 B.C.), and presumably gave in considerable detail the background of the warfare which broke out in 49 B.C.⁴⁰ It is probable that Pollio described or intended to describe all the phases of the conflict, including its final resolution.⁴¹ This is confirmed by indications of the scope of Pollio's history (strictly, of Horace's belief on the matter) in the first poem of the second book of the *Odes*.⁴² The verses:

gravisque
principum amicitias et arma

nondum expiatis uncta cruentibus,
periculosa plenum opus aleae,
tractas, et incedis per ignis
suppositos cineri doloso [3-8]

point toward a history of comprehensive scope, and Porphyrio's comment is in accord with this.⁴³ A history of the whole period of dissension would constitute a task far more delicate than one ending

with the *bellum civile Caesarianum* or the dictator's death; the figure of the embers under the ashes loses its appositeness if it is not taken to include events too recent to be touched upon without wariness. Some verses near the end of the ode, furthermore, suggest the naval warfare with Sextus Pompeius and the great engagement off Actium:

qui gurges aut quae flumina lugubris
ignara belli? quod mare Dauniae
non decoloravere caedes?
quae caret ora cruento nostro? [33-36].

The interrelation of the civil campaigns of Caesar and of his adopted son is emphasized in the concluding lines of the *Metamorphoses*. Ovid writes:

hic sua complevit, pro quo, Cytherea, laboras,
tempora, perfectis, quos terrae debuit, annis.
ut deus accedat caelo templisque colatur,
tu facies natusque suus, qui nominis heres
inpositum feret unus onus caesique parentis
nos in bella suos fortissimus ulti habebit.
illius auspiciis obssessae moenia pacem
victa petent Mutinae, Pharsalia sentiet illum,
Emathiique iterum madefient caede Philippi,
et magnum Siculis nomen superabitur undis,
Romanique ducis coniunx Aegyptia taedae
non bene fisa cadet, frustraque erit illa minata,
servitura suo Capitolia nostra Canopo

[xv. 816-28].

That Octavian as Caesar's avenger (821) pursued the conflict in a manner similar to that of his predecessor is the import of the coupling of *Pharsalia* (823) with the Virgilian *iterum madefient caede Philippi* in the following verse. The adjective *magnum* (825) is used in such a way as to suggest the parallelism between the conflict of the elder Pompey and the first Caesar on the one hand and of Octavian and Sextus Pompeius on the other. In calling Antony *dux Romanus* (cf. 826) the poet brings out the civil aspect of the war against Antony and Cleopatra, which Horace and Virgil had been at pains to

dissemble. In the *Ex Ponto* Ovid alludes to the symbolization of the end of civil conflict by the closing of the gates of the temple of Janus in 29 B.C.:

qui [Augustus] visit semper, victis ut parcere
posset,
clausit et aeterna civica bella sera

[i. 2. 125-26].

That Augustus himself, at least in his later years, regarded the overthrow of Antony and Cleopatra as marking the end of the civil warfare in which he had engaged is apparent from the *Res gestae*, in which he situates the end of *bella civilia* in or shortly before 28 B.C.⁴⁴

In view of Lucan's dependence upon Livy for his historical material,⁴⁵ how the historian defined the period of civil strife is of particular significance, since it is probable that the poet would conceive the conflict, at least in its grand outlines, as did the historian he chose for his guide. The most direct evidence for Livy's treatment of the twenty-odd years from the outbreak of civil warfare to the ultimate peace is furnished by the *Periochae* of Books cix-cxvi. Before the first eight of these summaries the headings "qui est civilis belli primus (secundus, etc.)" are found. It is sufficiently probable that these eight books of the unabridged Livy were at one time so designated,⁴⁶ and it has been thought that this designation stems from Livy himself. It need not be questioned that the historian considered the four years of the *bellum civile Caesarianum* (cix-cxv) a unified and coherent part of the struggle, but that he would here include the eleven months of peace from Munda to Caesar's assassination (cxvi is entirely concerned with this period) is unlikely; furthermore it would be hazardous to infer from these titles alone even if their Livian origin were certain that Livy regarded the *bellum Caesarianum* the *bellum civile κατ' ἔξοχην*, and the

years of warfare that followed Caesar's death as a distinct phase of secondary importance. As will shortly be seen, the text of the *Periochae* provides cogent evidence that such were not Livy's views, while there can be no doubt that the titles themselves were interpolated into his history long after the death of the author.

In later antiquity it was a common practice to introduce chapter-headings and other "titles" into historical works. This is well illustrated by the case of Florus, who drew upon Livy to such an extent that his history was once believed to be an epitome of the earlier work, and is so labelled in some manuscripts. The text of Florus has been split into a great number of chapters, for the most part entitled *bellum* this or that. One chapter bears the title "Bellum civile Caesaris et Pompei." This chapter begins with the commencement of hostilities and ends with Caesar's assassination. The chapter-headings in Florus are considerably later than the text;⁴⁷ this one is not consistent with the statement in the chapter that Caesar's civil warfare lasted four years and ended climactically with Munda.⁴⁸ As between text and heading there can be no doubt as to which reflects the Livian tradition. Here the editor or scribe used the designation current in his day, without thought of consistency or chronological precision. It would seem that whoever gave the title *bellum civile*, or perhaps, as the analogy of the heading in Florus suggests, *bellum civile Caesaris et Pompei*, to Livy cix-cxvi proceeded in just the same manner, and that this took place between the date Florus used Livy and that when the Livian *Periochae* were compiled. In any event, the titles appearing before *Periochae* cix-cxvi have no value as evidence for Livy's view of the Roman civil conflict. The text of the *Periochae*, on the other hand, represents the Livian tradition as faithfully as its ex-

treme compression permits. Unlike Florus, the *Periochae* derive exclusively from Livy. That the essential unity of the civil struggle was well realized by the historian is made explicit by the following passage from *Periocha* cxxxiii: "Caesar Alexandria in potestatem redacta, Cleopatra, ne in arbitrium victoris veniret, voluntaria morte defuncta, in urbem reversus tres triumphos egit . . . inposito fine civilibus bellis altero et vicesimo anno."⁴⁹

Velleius Paterculus states that the agitation of the tribune Curio (as Caesar's agent at Rome in 50 B.C., the year of his tribunate) precipitated the conflict and thereby initiated a series of civil disasters that lasted for twenty years,⁵⁰ and eulogizes the peace that followed this period of civil strife.⁵¹ He thus regards the entire complex as an entity; he recognizes that the campaigns of Julius Caesar constitute a coherent phase of the longer struggle but does not assign disproportionate importance to them.⁵²

Valerius Maximus refers to the warfare resulting from the falling-out of Caesar and Pompey in a manner which suggests a series of clashes more prolonged than the *bellum civile Caesarianum*.⁵³ The writings of the elder Seneca contain little of relevance to the present subject. He cites a tirade of the great declaimer Latro in which Antony is excoriated as the personification of civil war,⁵⁴ subsequently, in explaining his failure to see Cicero, he observes: "nec Ciceronem quidem aetas mihi eripuerat, sed bellorum civilium furor, qui tunc totum orbem pervagabatur, intra coloniam meam me continuit."⁵⁵ Seneca here conceives of civil warfare continuing from 49 B.C. to Cicero's death in 43 B.C. (and doubtless beyond). There is likewise little evidence as to the views of the younger Seneca on this matter. On one occasion he stresses the increasingly "civil" character of Octavian's internal war-

fare: "cum civibus primum, deinde cum collegis, novissime cum adfinibus coactus armis decernere mari terraque sanguinem fudit. per Macedoniam, Siciliam, Aegyptum, Syriam Asiamque et omnis prope oras bello circuactus Romana caede lassos exercitus ad externa bella convertit."⁵⁶ Again, his use of the phrase *medio civili bello* with reference to the occasion in October 45 B.C. (half a year after Munda) when Caesar forced the aging Laberius to appear upon the stage,⁵⁷ unless it be an instance of what Postgate called "the Annaean inaccuracy,"⁵⁸ implies that the philosopher attached no great importance to the interval of peace that followed Caesar's Spanish victory.

Tacitus, whose testimony may conveniently be considered at this point, before concluding this survey by examining passages from Manilius and the *Octavia*, agrees with Livy and Velleius in characterizing the period 49–29 B.C. as one of unbroken discord.⁵⁹ In the *Histories* he sets forth the opinion of all classes of citizens in terms which make it plain that at the time with which he is concerned (A.D. 69) the battles of the civil struggle before and after Caesar's assassination were felt to be parts of the same complex.⁶⁰

The unitarian attitude toward the conflict appears clearly in the following lines of Manilius, which exhibit striking similarities with Lucan i. 38–45, if indeed the later poet is not directly inspired by them: *civilis etiam motus cognataque bella [ignes] significant. nec plura alias incendia mundus sustinuit, quam cum ducibus iurata cruentis arma Philippeos implerunt agmine campos, vixque etiam sicca miles Romanus harena ossa virum lacerosque prius super astitit artus, imperiumque suis confixit viribus ipsum, perque patris pater Augustus vestigia vicit. neendum finis erat: restabant Actia bella dotali commissa acie, repetitaque rerum alea et in ponto quae suscit rector Olympi, femineum sortita iugum cum Roma peperit*

atque ipsa Isiaco certarunt fulmina sistro;
restabant profugo servilia milite bella,
cum patrios armis imitatus filius hostis
aequaora Pompeius cepit defensa parenti

[i. 906-21].

The verses alluding to Julius Caesar's assassination:

ille etiam caelo genitus caeloque receptus,
cum bene compositis victor civilibus armis
iura togae regeret, totiens praedicta cavere
vulnera non potuit: [iv. 57-60]

refer, as was the case in Velleius ii. 59. 4,⁶¹
to the apparent ending of the conflict with
the *bellum civile Caesarianum*.

In the *Octavia* Nero rejects a suggestion on the part of Seneca that he imitate the mansuetude of Augustus by declaring that it is folly to tolerate enemies of the régime when they may so easily be put to death; he illustrates the peril of sentimentality in this respect by the murder of Julius Caesar:

Brutus in caudem ducis
a quo salutem tulerat, armavit manus:
invictus acie, gentium dominor, Iovi
aequatus altos ipse per honorum gradus
Caesar nefando civium scelere occidit.
quantum crux Roma tum vidit sui,
lacerata totiens! ille qui meruit pia
virtute caelum, divus Augustus, viros
quot interemit nobiles, iuvenes senes
sparsos per orbem, cum suos mortis metu
fugerent penates et trium ferrum ducum,
tabula notante deditos tristi neci!
exposita rostris capita caesorum patres
videre maesti, flere nec licuit suos,
non gemere dira tibe polluto foro,
stillante sanie per putres vultus gravi.
nec finis hic crux aut caedis stetit:
pavere volucres et feras saevas diu
tristes Philippi, † hausit et Siculum mare
classes virosque † saepe cedentes suos.
concessus orbis⁶² viribus magnis ducum:
superatus acie puppibus Nilum petit
fugae paratis, ipse perituras brevi:
hausit crux incesta Romani ducis
Aegyptus iterum; nunc leves umbras tegit.
illuc sepultum est impie gestum diu

civile bellum, condidit tandem suos
iam fessus enses victor hebetatos feris
vulneribus, et continuit imperium metus

[498-526].

Although Nero is here chiefly concerned with the civil warfare following Caesar's assassination, he has in mind all the years of dissension between the Rubicon and the final peace; the *bellum civile* (the singular is significant) *impie gestum diu* (523) ended at last in Egypt with the death of a second Roman commander (521-22; Pompey had been the first), and fear held the state together. Since Julius Caesar failed to inspire fear similar to that in which Nero alleges Octavian was held, he was unable to bring the civil conflict to an enduring conclusion and himself fell a victim of it.

From this survey it may be concluded that Lucan's contemporaries and Julio-Claudian predecessors and specifically his historical source, Livy, thought of the civil warfare which broke out in 49 B.C. as continuing until the final victory of Octavian. The *bellum civile Caesarianum*, although considered a coherent episode in the greater struggle, by no means occupied the predominant or exclusive position it attained in later antiquity and the Middle Ages, and which it still holds in the minds of many. It is therefore a priori probable that in selecting the *plus quam civilia bella* which followed Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon as his theme, Lucan proposed to continue the subject until civil warfare came to a definitive end some twenty years later.

External evidence of a more direct nature may be found in Petronius' *Satyricon* (118-24). Here Petronius has the engagingly uninhibited itinerant man of letters, Eumolpus, give a lecture, as he and his companions walk along the highroad into Crotone, on the general subject of poetry, which is succeeded by specific observa-

tions on the theme *belli civilis ingens opus* (118). Contrary to the custom of critics, Eumolpus supports his remarks by reciting two hundred and sixty hexameters on this subject, which exemplify the principles he has just enunciated. It is obvious and undisputed that these verses stand in close relation to Lucan's poem, but whether they are intended as model, parody, or pastiche has given rise to much speculation.⁶³ What is of present concern to us, however, is the meaning of *belli civilis ingens opus*, since it is clear that this phrase designates the subject upon which Lucan was believed to have been engaged as well as that of the verses Eumolpus declaims.⁶⁴

In the first place, the adjective *ingens* points toward a poem of comprehensive scope. In the poem proper, Eumolpus, after describing the corrupt condition of the Roman world, has *pater Ditis* call upon *Fortuna* to end the long era of peace which had obtained since the time of Sulla. *Fortuna* signifies her willingness to do this, declaring:

et mihi cordi
quippe cremare viros et sanguine pascere
luxum [109-10].

Then, in a succession of visions, she enumerates the phases of the conflict she is soon to unleash:

cerno equidem gemina iam stratos morte
Philippos
Thessaliaeque rogos et funera gentis Hiberse.
iam fragor armorum trepidantes personat
aures.
et Libyae cerno tua, Nile, gementia claustra⁶⁵
Actiacosque sinus et Apollinis arma timentes
[111-15].

These visions foreshadow with considerable precision Pharsalia, the *bellum Alexandrinum*, and Caesar's Spanish campaigns, then Philippi and the *bellum Actiacum*. There is no indication that Munda or the death of Caesar is to mark the end

of a distinct struggle; the two decades of warfare are envisaged as a whole. *Fortuna* goes on to anticipate that the shades of those killed will swarm in such hordes into the lower world that Charon's skiff will not suffice for their transport; an entire fleet will be needed (117-19). Her prophecy concludes: "ad Stygios manes laceratus ducitur orbis" (121). The phrase *laceratus orbis*, to which several parallels have been observed,⁶⁶ emphasizes the comprehensiveness of this series of civil catastrophes. Prodigies follow (122-40), then Caesar, with Lucanian abruptness, enters upon the scene.⁶⁷ The next hundred lines describe Caesar's march across the Alps, and the reaction at Rome to the report of his actions brought by *Fama* (144-244). The final verses of the poem are once more on the divine plane (245-95): *Pax*, followed by *Fides*, *Iustitia*, and *Concordia*, leaves the upper world for the domain of *Dis* (249-53), while the contrasting divinities *Erinys*, *Bellona*, *Megaera*, *Letum*, *Insidiae* and *Mors* emerge to take their places, with *Furor* bringing up the rear (255-60). Finally *Discordia* comes forth with a blast of trumpets and calls the world to arms, and Eumolpus ends: "factum est in terris quicquid *Discordia* iussit" (295).

Civil warfare, as adumbrated in these verses, extends from 49 to 29 B.C. A poem which commences with the expulsion of *Pax* by *Discordia* and her band must remain incomplete until *Discordia* in turn is supplanted by *Pax*. This did not take place until Antony and Cleopatra had been defeated; the return of *Pax* was then symbolized by the closing of the gates of the temple of Janus. Whatever the author of the *Satyricon* meant to convey with respect to the Lucanian technique of historical epic, there can be no uncertainty as to the limits he, Eumolpus, and the contemporary literate public considered natural

and fitting for an epic dealing with *belli civilis ingens opus*, and by this token those contemplated by Lucan for the poem he was composing on this subject.

There remains the internal evidence of Lucan's poem itself. If the hypothesis put forward by Weber in the *Commentatio*⁶⁸ that the text shows traces of two recensions, the first representing a projected comprehensive poem to end with the triumph of Octavian and introduced by i. 8-66, and the second, for which i. 1-7 were composed as *exordium*, a shorter and violently libertarian version, terminating with the overthrow of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi were sound, the evaluation of the internal evidence would be a task of disheartening complexity. Happily, this hypothesis will not hold water. Weber's sole substantial argument, viz., that i. 1-7 and i. 8-66 are inconsistent, has been shown false.⁶⁹ Weber's interpretation of the curious statement of the *Vita* in the Leidensis Vossianus Secundus, Lat. xix. f. 63: "Seneca autem, qui fuit avunculus eius, quia ex abrupto inchoabat, hos vii versus addidit: 'bella per Emathios usque 'et pila minantia pilis'" as reflecting a tradition that these verses, written by Lucan, were added by Lucan's father after his son's death, in accordance with the latter's instructions, to replace the "first *exordium*," hardly merits refutation.⁷⁰ It may be remarked, however, that the motive found in this *Vita* has nothing to do with the one imagined by Weber. Equally worthless is his supposition that the "title" *Bellum civile* was assigned by the poet to the longer version, while *Pharsalia* was to designate the shorter.⁷¹ Nevertheless it is interesting to note that Weber came to consider it impossible to interpret such passages as the "first *exordium*" save by admitting that they were written to form part of a poem comprising the entire period of civil strife.⁷²

Lucan begins by setting forth his theme in general terms:

Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos
iusque datum sceleri canimus, populumque
potentem

in sua victrii conversum viscera dextra
cognatasque acies, et rupto foedere regni
certatum totis concussi viribus orbis
in commune nefas, infestisque obvia signis
signa, pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis
[i. 1-7].

This theme is civil warfare. Nothing here restricts the subject to the *bellum civile Caesarianum*; *Emathios* is at least as appropriate to Philippi as to Pharsalia. If it is thought that the expression *plus quam civilia bella* implies that the protagonists were related, it should be remembered that Antony and Octavian were connected through marriage, as well as Pompey and Caesar. The words *rupto foedere regni* are no less applicable to the second triumvirate than they are to the first.⁷³ Actium was, to the Roman of the first century after Christ, an engagement at least as world-shaking as Pharsalia. That Lucan considered the later phases of the struggle even more unhallowed (*nefas*) than the earlier ones is made plain by the exclamation which terminates his seventh book: *Hesperiae clades et flebilis unda Pachyni et Mutina et Leucas pueros fecere Philippos*

[871-72].

It is the practice of epic poets first to state their theme in general terms and then to describe and define it more specifically. The opening words of the *Aeneid* sufficiently indicate Virgil's theme; this is then amplified and defined by the succeeding six and a half lines; *dum condere urbem/ inferretque deos Latio* (5-6) looks forward to the conclusion of the poem. Similarly the first thirteen words of Silius' *Punica* declare the subject, which verses 12-16 reiterate in a fuller and more precise manner. This usage is well exemplified

by the initial lines of Corippus' *Iohannis*, a work of markedly Lucanian character:⁷⁴

Signa, duces gentesque feras Martisque ruinas
insidias stragesque virum durosque labores,
et Libycas clades et fractos viribus hostes,
indictamque famem populis laticesque negatos,
utraque letifero turbantes castra tumultu,
turbatos stratosque cano populosque subactos,
ductorem et magno signantem facta triumpho.
Aeneadas rursus cupiunt resonare Camenae
[i. 1-8].

The subject is introduced in the first line and described with increasing precision in the next six verses; the resolution of the chaos and alarms of warfare by victory and the ensuing triumph is foreshadowed by verse seven; the poet has by now made clear both the nature and the scope of his subject.

After the general statement in the first seven lines, Lucan inveighs against the folly of Romans fighting one another while external foes remain, then (24-32) pictures the desolation of Italy, which he represents as continuing to his day (*nunc*, 24). This ruin has been caused by the civil warfare the poet is to recount, and is to be understood as the result of the entire complex of civil conflicts rather than of any part thereof. If all the disasters of civil warfare, Lucan continues (33-38), were a prerequisite to the accession, there would be no reason for complaint: *sceleru ipsa nefasque/ hac mercede placent* (37-38). These instances of *scelus* and *nefas* (the expressions *ius datum sceleri* [2] and *in commune nefas* [6] are here echoes) the poet proceeds to specify:

diros Pharsalia campos
inplet et Poeni saturentur sanguine manes,
ultima funesta concurrant proelia Munda,
his, Caesar, Perusina fames Mutinaeque la-
bores
accedant fatis et quas premit aspera classes
Leucas et ardent servilia bella sub Aetna,
multum Roma tamen debet civilibus armis
quod tibi res acta est [i. 38-45].

The term *civilia arma* comprises the struggle from its outbreak through Actium. *Ultima proelia* may conceivably, as Weise thought, refer to the remote position of Munda, but the more probable temporal interpretation need occasion no perplexity, since Lucan forthwith makes explicit that there was nothing enduring about Caesar's victory in southern Spain; it did no more than mark the end of a phase of the larger conflict.⁷⁵

The magnitude of the theme is stressed in the lines:

fert animus causas tantarum expromere rerum,
inmensumque aperitur opus, quid in arma fu-
rentem
impulerit populum, quid pacem excusserit orbi
[i. 67-69].

Inmensum opus corresponds to the Petronian *ingens opus*.⁷⁶ As has been observed apropos of Eumolpus' lines,⁷⁷ a poem that begins with the banishment of peace should end with its return; the temple of Janus remained open after Munda, and its gates were not shut until 29 B.C.

The double *sententia*:

nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas
inpatiens consortis erit [i. 92-93]

is of equal relevance to either triumvirate.

At the close of the first book are three prophecies having to do with the incipient warfare. The forebodings of the *haruspex Arruns* (631-37) are sinister but vague; the prophecies of *Figulus* (642-72) and of the "frenzied matron" (678-94) give, on the other hand, precious indications concerning Lucan's conception of the scope of the conflict he had chosen for his subject. After resuming the astrological phenomena that motivate his fears, *Figulus* proclaims:

"inminet armorum rabies, ferrique potestas
confundet ius omne manu, scelerique nefando
nomen erit virtus, multosque exibit in annos
hic furor. et superos quid prodest poscere
finem?"

cum domino pax ista venit. duc, Roma, malorum

continuam seriem clademque in tempora multa
extrahe civili tantum iam libera bello"

[i. 666-72].

Marked verbal similarities exist between this passage and the early lines of the book; the *furor* of civil strife foreseen by Figulus is that of i. 8; "many years" is better taken to refer to 49-29 B.C. than to the four years of the *bellum civile Caesarianum*. The prediction *cum domino pax ista venit* (670) has been thought to refer to Julius Caesar,⁷⁸ and it is true that Caesar is repeatedly thus stigmatized by Lucan and others, but Figulus is here thinking not of Julius Caesar but of Octavian.⁷⁹ The last and most circumstantial prophecy is that of the "frenzied matron":

"quo feror, o Paean? qua me super aethera raptam

constituis terra? video Pangaea nivosis
cana iugis latosque Haemi sub rupe Philippos.
quis furor hic, o Phoebe, doce, quo tela
manusque

Romanae miscent acies bellumque sine hoste
est.

quo diversa feror? primos me ducis in ortus,
qua mare Lagei mutatur gurgite Nili:
hunc ego, fluminea deformis truncus harena
qui iacet, agnosco. dubiam super aequora

Syrtim

arentemque feror Libyen, quo tristis Enyo
transtulit Emathias acies. nunc desuper Alpis
nubiferae colles atque aeriam Pyrenen
abripimur. patriae sedes remeamus in urbis,
inpiaque in medio peraguntur bella senatu.
consurgunt partes iterum, totumque per
orbem

rurus eo. nova da mihi cernere litora ponti
telluremque novam: vidi iam, Phoebe, Philip-
pos" [i. 678-94].

Verse 691: "unholy warfare is being brought to an end in the midst of the assembled senate"⁸⁰ must be interpreted in its context. The matron is reporting the successive *tableaux* of her vision as they

flash before her eyes. At this point she sees the man who set the conflict in motion being stabbed to death, and for an instant assumes that this marks the end of civil strife. But the vision does not stop here; the final verses of her prophecy tell of dark glimpses of Philippi and of Actium, and it may be of the sea fights off Sicily with Sextus Pompeius and the *bellum Mutinense*.⁸¹

The unequivocal indications of the scope of his poem given by Lucan in verses 38-45 of this book are confirmed, implicitly and explicitly, by the two predictions just discussed. Were no further confirmation found in the remaining books, it could be concluded from this evidence alone that when this book was written Lucan contemplated telling the story of the twenty odd years of civil conflict from beginning to end, and, in the absence of unmistakeable signs in subsequent books of a change of plan, that this remained Lucan's purpose as long as he worked on the poem. Confirmatory evidence does, however, occur. Actium is foreshadowed in the lines:

ductor erat cunctis audax Antonius armis
iam tum civili meditatus Leucada bello

[v. 478-79],

of which a scholiast observed, "id est, qui disceret gerere bella civilia."⁸² The verses create the impression that Actium is to occupy a climactic position in the poem. The closing lines of book seven represent the events which culminate in Actium (871-72) as more formidable than the first great engagement in Thessaly:⁸³

nuda atque ignota iaceres,
si non prima nefas belli sed sola tulisses.
o superi, liceat terras odisse nocentis.
quid totum premitis, quid totum absolvitis
orbem?

Hesperiae clades et flebilis unda Pachyni
et Mutina et Leucas puros fecere Philippos

[vii. 867-72].

The abuse Lucan heaps upon Cleopatra when she first appears and the manner in which he speaks of her future exploits make it probable that a role both sinister and significant is being reserved for her: dedecus Aegypti, Latii feralis Eryns, Romano non casta malo. quantum in pulit Argos

Iliacasque domos facie Spartana nocenti, Hesperios auxit tantum Cleopatra furores. terruit illa suo, si fas, Capitolia sistro et Romana petit inbelli signa Canopo Caesare captivo Pharios ductura triumphos; Leucadioque fuit dubius sub gurgite casus, an mundum ne nostra quidem matrona tene-
ret.

hoc animi nox illa dedit quae prima cubili miscuit incestam ducibus Ptolemaida nostris. quis tibi vaesani veniam non donet amoris, Antoni, durum cum Caesaris hauserit ignis pectus? [x. 59-72]

Hesperios furores (62) point to the conflict of 32-30 B.C. rather than to the *bellum Alexandrinum*, as the context shows, but allude to Cleopatra's responsibility for Caesar's fighting at Alexandria as well. In verses 66-67 Actium and the potential consequences of this battle loom up portentously. To the association of the *meretrix regina* with Julius Caesar the poet ascribes the genesis of the haughty enterprise that all but effected the overthrow of Octavian, and the adjective *prima* (68) implies the later liaison with Antony, which precipitated the final cataclysm of the civil struggle.

If Lucan designed to carry his narrative to the peace which followed the victory of Octavian over Antony and his royal wife, it follows that the significant episodes and incidents of civil conflict between the interruption of the poem in the tenth book and the ultimate peace fall within the scope of the epic, and consequently separate discussion of references to these events, the most important of which are found in passages already cited, has not

appeared necessary. An exception has been made, however, in the case of Sextus Pompeius; were there no explicit evidence that the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra concluded the poem, the incorporation of the warfare between Sextus and Octavian would point in this direction, since it is improbable that Lucan would have brought his story to a halt with the elimination of a personage of such ambiguous character and relatively secondary importance as Pompey's younger son. The direct evidence that has been presented does not stand in need of such roundabout confirmation. Nevertheless, since Lucan's treatment of Sextus and the allusions to his later career furnish clues as to the manner in which the incomPLETED portion of the poem might have been worked out, some profit may result from an examination of the passages concerning him.

Lucan purposely disregards historical accuracy in placing Sextus in Thessaly just before Pharsalia.⁸⁴ He no doubt thought it incongruous that neither of Pompey's sons, who subsequently are adjudged to continue the Pompeian tradition by opposing all Caesars,⁸⁵ was on hand at the time of their father's most decisive battle. It is unlikely that he contemplated making much use of Gnaeus Pompeius the Younger, who at this stage of the conflict held a naval command in the Adriatic, for Gnaeus did not fight in the *bellum Africum* and survived Munda by only a few days, whereas after Caesar's death Sextus defied his successor for many years; he would of necessity occupy a position of some prominence in the section of the epic dealing with this period, and in anticipation of this is here brought to the fore. The verses with which Lucan introduces him foreshadow, somewhat invidiously, his future activities as corsair in Sicilian waters:

turbae sed mixtus inerti
Sextus erat, Magno proles indigna parente,

cui mox Scyllaeis exul grassatus in undis
polluit aequoreos Siculus pirata triumphos

[vi. 419-22]

and the part he is made to play in the gruesome necromancy scene which follows betokens little sympathy on the part of Lucan, yet in the course of his prophecy the cadaver declares that Sextus ultimately will join his father and brother in the bright part of the nether world:

refer haec solacia tecum,
o iuvenis, placido manes patremque domumque
expectare sinu regnique in parte serena
Pompeis servare locum [vi. 802-5]

and shortly thereafter foretells that the shade of his father will manifest itself to him in Sicily, and inform him more exactly of his doom:

tu fatum ne quaere tuum: cognoscere Parcae
me reticente dabunt; tibi certior omnia vates
ipse canet Siculis genitor Pompeius in arvis,
ille quoque incertus quo te vocet, unde repellat,
quas iubeat vitare plagas, quae sidera mundi⁸⁶

[vi. 812-16].

There is every indication that the entire necromancy scene is Lucan's invention. The analogy with the passage late in the fifth *Aeneid* where Aeneas is tempted to settle in Sicily but is enheartened by the shade of Anchises to pursue his voyage (724-39)⁸⁷ suggests the literary rather than the "historical" character of this epiphany of the elder Pompey.⁸⁸ The poet emphasizes the role of Sextus to a degree quite unjustified by his actions at this time; the violence done in this episode to historical fact, together with the allusions, fictional and otherwise, to Sextus' later career, can only be explained by the assumption that the civil warfare waged by Sextus after the death of his father and elder brother was to form an integral part of the poem. This is supported by the words of Cornelia to her stepson a short time after Pompey had been murdered as he approached the Egyptian shore:

tu pete bellorum casus et signa per orbem,
Sexte, paterna move; namque haec mandata
reliquit

Pompeius vobis in nostra condita cura:
"me cum fatalis leto damnaverit hora,
exice, o nati, bellum civile, nec umquam,
dum terris aliquis nostra de stirpe manebit,
Caesaribus regnare vacet . . ." [ix. 84-90].

These instructions of Pompey to his sons also have their origin in the poet's imagination. There is no reason to suppose that Pompey ever made such a statement; that he had foreseen his death at this point and left a message for Cornelia to transmit, should misfortune befall him, is fantastically improbable. Sextus accompanied his father on the voyage to Egypt; there was ample opportunity to communicate with him directly. The plural *Caesaribus* (90) brackets Octavian with Julius Caesar and looks ahead not only to the campaign of Munda but to the years of warfare waged by Sextus against Octavian after the dictator's death.

Several passages may appear inconsistent with the comprehensive design which, it has been maintained, Lucan had in mind. In the seventh book the consequences of Pharsalia are described in terms so wild and hyperbolic that it might seem that with the aftermath of this engagement Lucan must consider his theme exhausted. After imputing the contemporary desolation of Italy to the losses of this battle, the poet says that it brought about a collapse of national prestige and marked the departure of *libertas* from the civilized world:

hac luce cruenta
effectum, ut Latios non horreat India fasces,
[427-28]

quod fugiens⁸⁹ civile nefas reddituraque num-
quam
libertas ultra Tigrim Rhenumque recessit

ac, totiens nobis iugulo quae sita, vagatur
 Germanum Scythicumque bonum, nec respicit
 ultra
 Ausoniam, vellem populis incognita nostris
 [432-36].

Later in the same book reverting to the subject of the effects of the battle, he cries no less extravagantly:

maiis ab hac acie quam quod sua saecula fer-
 rent
 volnus habent populi; plus est quam vita sa-
 lusque
 quod perit: in totum mundi prosternimur
 aevum.
 vincitur his gladiis omnis quae serviet aetas.
 proxima quid suboles aut quid meruere nepotes
 in regnum nasci? pavide num gessimus arma
 teximus aut iugulos? alieni poena timoris
 in nostra cervice sedet. post proelia natis
 si dominum, Fortuna, dabas, et bella dedisses
 [638-46].

Both passages are more reminiscent of the Eumolpian *furentis animi vaticinatio* than of the deprecated *religiosae orationis sub testibus fides*;⁹⁰ in striving for bravura effect Lucan forgets logic, precision and restraint. In the first passage, no distinction is made between the direct and the ultimate consequences of the battle. The second exaggerates the effect of Pharsalia no less grotesquely, but in disclaiming the responsibility of those born after the end of civil warfare (*post proelia* [645]) for a régime that they had had no opportunity to oppose in battle, the poet shows that despite the sound and fury of his tirade he preserved some awareness of the later phases of the struggle.⁹¹ In any event, the futility of attempting to draw any inference from these verses as to the scope of the poem is made plain by the circumstance that Lucan did not bring his narrative to a close with the aftermath of Pharsalia. On the contrary, after the death of Pompey the story continues with renewed vigor; the end is nowhere in sight.

As Pompey leaves the field of Pharsalia,

Lucan exclaims that the remainder of the battle, together with the Alexandrian, African and Spanish wars will be between *libertas* and Caesar (vii. 691-97), with the parenthesis (695) *par quod semper habemus*. Until this parenthesis Lucan, as the mention of the later campaigns of the *bellum Caesarianum* shows, was thinking of Julius Caesar; the parenthesis expands the term *Caesar* to include *Caesareae domus series*, with particular reference to its contemporary representative Nero. Lucan here imagines a duel between *libertas* and Caesarianism, beginning with Pompey's exit and in progress as he writes. This is irreconcilable with the flight of *libertas* to barbarian lands after Pharsalia, which took place several hundred verses earlier.⁹² Fortunately, confusion of this nature has no bearing on the scope of the poem, inasmuch as Lucan was composing a historical epic on *civilia bella*, Roman civil warfare, not an account of an ideological conflict about which his ideas were nebulous and contradictory. Verse 695 unquestionably contains a barb at Nero, and may well show that in the interval since the composition of the *laus Neronis* (i. 33-66) in the so-called "first exordium"⁹³ the poet had come to hate his imperial rival, but that this sentiment impelled him radically to curtail the scope of his poem is an inference this probability in no way justifies.⁹⁴

The fancied ending of *civilia bella* with the death of Caesar in the Senate (i. 641) has been discussed.⁹⁵ A somewhat analogous statement is found in the final book, where Pothinus urges that Caesar be assassinated as he dallies with Cleopatra, "plenum epulis madidumque mero Venerique paratum" (x. 396). Pothinus anticipates that if this is accomplished "nox haec peraget civilia bella" (x. 391). This shows that Pothinus (and possibly Lucan) thought that killing Caesar at this time would put an end to civil war; it does not

imply that the poet believed that civil warfare was in fact ended by the stabbing of Caesar by the conspirators.

Evidence has been given to establish the a priori probability that Lucan interpreted *plus quam civilia bella* as the decades of civil warfare between 49 and 29 B.C. It has been further shown that this was the belief of his contemporaries concerning the scope of the poem he was writing. The internal evidence of the work as it stands makes the conclusion inescapable that the poet designed to comprise the entire period of civil strife. The hypothesis that this scope was abridged in the course of composition rests upon no valid grounds, external or internal.

The precise manner in which the later parts of the poem would have been worked out will never be known; probably Lucan had neither solved nor anticipated many of the problems that would have

arisen. The contradictory characterizations of Sextus Pompeius⁹⁶ indicate that Lucan's attitude toward Sextus and his opponent Octavian in the conflict between this pair had not crystallized. It appears certain, on the other hand, that he would have excoriated Antony and Cleopatra without mercy; whether or not he would ultimately have adopted an attitude of disabused tolerance toward the second Caesar is problematic; just as Lucan's "Pompeianism" went beyond that of the distinguished Pompeian who provided the historical framework about which he was building his poem, so it is unlikely that even his hatred for Antony and Cleopatra could have brought him to feel much enthusiasm for the founder of the principate, or to greet his triumph with any emotion beyond relief at its marking the end of a long and disastrous period of civil war.

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NOTES

1. In *Quaestiones in Lucani Pharsaliam*, Part I (Goeben, 1824), p. 20, E. Kaestner maintained that the poem was complete or nearly so as it stands, arguing that the arrival of Caesar at a position of supremacy constituted a fit ending, and that with Caesar's escape this would in effect be achieved. This view was attacked by C. F. Weber, the then reigning German Lucanian, who observed that it did not take into account the difficult campaigns of Thapsus and Munda (*Prolusio in Lucani Pharsaliam* [Siza, 1825], p. 6, reprinted in identical form, save for differences in the numbering of the footnotes and one or two variants in Latinity, in Weber's edition of *Cortius' Lucan*, II [Leipzig, 1829], 569-90); when Kaestner subsequently reaffirmed his opinion as to Lucan's intention, he became studiously vague with regard to the interval between Caesar's escape and his attainment of supremacy. Cf. *ibid.*, Part IV (Bielefeld, 1829), p. 20: "qui mox rebus suis accedebat cumulum."

2. All ancient quotations from the poem appear in our text; that it consisted of ten books in antiquity as well as today is attested by the *Vita* attributed to Vacca.

3. *Silv.* II. 7. 100-104.

4. The remarks at the close of the Vaccan biography defend the seven "posthumous" books from an anticipated charge of lack of polish (a charge Vacca considers unfounded); there is no implication that the poem is incomplete.

5. Cf. A. E. Housman's *Lucan*⁹⁷ (Oxford, 1927), p. xxx.

6. See Sulpitius' note to I. 1. This commentary was first printed in 1493.

7. For the relation of these versions see R. T. Brüère, "The Latin and English Versions of Thomas May's *Supplementum Lucani*," *CP*, XLIV (1949), 145-63. May had hardly finished work on the *Continuation* when he affirmed that Lucan meant to end the poem with Caesar's death. This is shown by the words of Calliope to Lucan's ghost in "The Mind of the Picture, or Frontispiece," which is found after the "Epistle Dedicatory" in some copies of the *Continuation*: "End it not until/ The Senates Swords the life of Caesar spill;/ That he whose conquests gave dire Nero Reign./ May as a sacrifice to thee be slain."

8. R. Harmand, *Essai sur la Vie et les Oeuvres de Georges de Brébeuf* (Paris, 1897), pp. 157-65 (Brébeuf's method of translation) and 175-78 (the episode of Burrhus and Octavie).

9. *La Pharsale de Lucain, en vers françois* (Paris, 1654), *Avertissement* to book ten. Cf. Weber, *Prolusio*, n. 23.

10. P. 8.

11. *Bellum civile*, or *De bello civili*, the convenient designation of the MSS, is less misleading than the traditional term *Pharsalia*.

12. *Commentatio de duplice Pharsaliae Lucaneae exordio* (Marburg, 1860), p. 18.

13. Introduction to C. E. Haskins' *Lucan* (London, 1887), p. xxxiv and n. 1.

14. *La Poésie latine* (Paris, 1909), pp. 559-60: "Lucain eût, semble-t-il, prolongé son récit jusqu'à

Philippe au moins, et probablement jusqu'à Actium. C'eût été le tableau complet des guerres civiles, tout le drame qui eut pour dénouement la constitution de l'Empire." Shortly thereafter he adds: "... Lucain, à coup sûr, n'a pas entrepris son oeuvre sans se demander où il allait: mais il a bien pu varier dans ses intentions à mesure qu'il composait et au cours des événements qui se passaient sous ses yeux." The contingency suggested in the last statement, despite a certain plausibility, would entail great difficulties, psychological and technical.

15. *Les Sources de Lucain* (Paris, 1912), pp. 269-71; a similar opinion had been expressed by A. Genthe in *De Marcis Annaci Lucani vita et scriptis* (Berlin, 1859), p. 70, where the death of Cato is selected as the probable ending of the poem.

16. *Il Libro della letteratura latina* (Florence, 1946), p. 331: "... e forse doveva [l'epopea storica] nell'intenzione del poeta, giungere sino alla morte di Cesare, se non sino ad Azio."

17. This uncertainty is illustrated by the imprecise manner in which the expressions "the civil war" and "the civil wars" are employed. Cf. "Lucan and his Roman Critics," *CP*, XXVI (1931), 254: "It can hardly be questioned, however, that Lucan's own purpose was to compose an epic of the civil wars, using the technique that seemed to him best suited to the subject . . ." and *ibid.*, p. 233: "The dispute raised on the publication of Lucan's long hexameter account of the civil wars has not been settled" with p. 246: "Did the innovations in Lucan's work make it incorrect to classify the author as a poet, or was he really a historian employing a metrical form for his account of the Civil War?" and p. 247: "Obviously the modern criticism that such recent events as the second Civil War did not form a suitable theme for epic treatment cannot be seriously considered." It would thus appear that "the civil wars," "the second Civil War," and "the Civil War" are used interchangeably to designate the conflict of 49-45 B.C. But in the second article, "Lucan and Civil War," *CP*, XXVIII (1933), 121, we read: "Giraud [l'Un poète républicain," *Revue des deux mondes*, 3^e période, X (1875), 425] points out that a literary tradition had been formed about the civil wars, which became rooted in Augustan and Julio-Claudian culture." The natural interpretation here is that the years of strife between 49 and 29 B.C. are meant, and this is confirmed by the context of Giraud's essay (in particular see p. 424: "... la république n'avait pu finir tout d'un coup; les longues convulsions de son agonie, depuis les querelles de Marius et de Sylla jusqu'à la bataille d'Actium, avaient ébranlé tout le monde romain et profondément troublé les imaginations.") On page 122 of "Lucan and Civil War" the author, apropos of Hor. *Carm.* I. 2. 21-24, (for which a date of composition late in 30 B.C. is accepted), remarks: "A stanza composed shortly after the civil war came to an end," and three pages later states: "He [Lucan] wrote nearly ninety years after the end of the civil wars, when the *pax Augusta* had made the world safe for Roman imperialism."

18. W. B. Anderson in *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1949), p. 514.

19. Pp. 8-9: "... usque ad pugnam Philippicam, quam Lucanus procul dubio descripturus ibique finem carmini fuit impositurus. Quam rem primum inscriptio *Pharsalia* probat, hoc posito atque concessu optime quadrans. Utraque enim pugna, et Pompeii contra

Caesarem, et Brutii contra triumviro, in campis Thessalicis [sic] pugnata est, ita ut Lucanus utramque eodem nomine insigniret." (l. 680, 694; vi. 582; ix. 271).

20. P. 18, n. 7.

21. *Poetica Libri Septem* (Lyon, 1561), iii. 123 (p. 434 in the second edition [*Santandreana*] of 1581): "Neque enim recte fecit Lucanus: cui Pharsallae titulus adeo placuit. Nam neque ibi omnia gesta: neque maior pars, neque propter illam: quippe rerum gestarum Pharsalia neutrō modo finis fuit."

22. *Op. cit.*, pp. 553, 560.

23. Pichon, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

24. J. P. Postgate, *Lucan viii* (Cambridge, 1917), p. xc: "Pharsalia nostra hero [lx. 985] does not mean 'my tale of Pharsalia shall live.' It means 'the memory of Pharsalia in which you and I, Caesar, have a share, shall never die.'" Housman (*apparatus ad loc.*) expresses this in more specific terms: "Pharsalia nostra: proelium a te [Caesare] gestum, a me scriptum."

25. 118. For this phrase see p. 224.

26. Cf. the judicious conclusion of L. Daly to his study "The Entitulature of Pre-Ciceronian Writings," *Classical Studies in honor of William Abbott Oldfather* (Urbana, 1943), p. 32: "The title was not then a matter of great concern to writers of this period and, unless there is a unanimous tradition represented by a fair number of witnesses, it is idle to inquire as to the 'authentic' entitulature of a work. Even when the transmission of a title seems beyond reproach, if it is one of the conventional generic titles or is descriptive rather than distinctive, there can be no certainty that it was assigned by the author himself. In the absence of clear evidence to the contrary such titles should be regarded as purely conventional and traditional, and no particular importance need be attached to them." It is probable that this conclusion is no less valid for works of the early Empire.

27. Suet. *Vita*: "dein . . . civile bellum, quod a Pompeio et Caesare gestum est, recitavit."

28. Cf. n. 17 above; Drumann-Groebel, *Geschichte Roms*, IV (Leipzig, 1908), 291 and 297 (of Octavian after Actium): "Der Zweck seiner Anstrengungen war überall erreicht, der Bürgerkrieg hörte auf, . . ." and "... doch pflanzte man ebenfalls nach einer Verfügung des Senats am Eingange seines Hauses Lorbeerbäume, und ein Kranz von Eichenlaub am Giebel erinnerte an sein Verdienst, das er die Bürgerkriege beendigt . . . hatte"; R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939), uses both the singular (p. 136, l. 16; 137, l. 34) and the plural (p. 100, l. 6; 104, l. 3) for the struggle between Julius Caesar and the Senate; the plural also occurs in the comprehensive sense (p. 315, l. 2). The ambiguous manner in which the expressions "civil war" and "the civil war" are employed is apparent in a recent edition of Lucan's first book (R. J. Getty [Cambridge, 1940]). See the note to vs. 672 on p. 123: "civili tantum iam libera bello: 'free only as long as civil war lasts,' i.e., until Actium and the final triumph of Octavian" and the note to vs. 691 on p. 125: "Cortius rightly explains this line as referring to the end of the civil war upon the death of Caesar in the Senate House. Pothinus, in planning Caesar's murder, recognized that this would happen, if he were successful, in the words (10. 391) *nox haec perget civilia bella.*" For the lack of relevance of Pothinus' statement to Caesar's assassination in the meeting of the Senate see p. 230.

29. Cf. Sanford, "Lucan and Civil War," p. 123: "Mediaeval commentators . . . explain the substance or *materia* of the epic as 'the civil war and whatever arose therefrom,' or as *totus cesar et totus pompeius*, interpreted by the civil strife between them."

30. Cf. n. 27 above.

31. *BC* li. 29. 3: *civile bellum*; ill. 1. 4: *initio civilis bellum*. The expressions *bello perfecto* (ill. 18. 5) and *confecto bello* (ill. 57. 5) may mean "after Munda," but more probably refer to the end of the campaign with which the author is immediately concerned.

32. *Phil.* vii. 7: "de proximo bello civili non libet dicere: ignoro causam, detestor exitum, hoc bellum [Mutinense] quintum civile geritur." Cicero cites the clashes between Sulla and Sulpicius, Octavius and Cinna, and of Marius and Carbo against Sulla as the first three.

33. Cf. *Fam.* xii. 25. 4 and xi. 20. 1: "laudandum adulescentem, ornandum, tollendum."

34. "Caesaris nostri commentarios . . . confecti usque ad exitum non quidem civilis dissensionis, culus finem nullum videmus, sed vitae Caesaris."

35. W. Will, *Horaz und die Augusteische Kultur* (Basle, 1948), pp. 45-46.

36. For the propriety of thus designating the battle see my note "Palaepharsalus, Pharsalus, Pharsala" to appear in *CP* in the near future.

37. *Aen.* viii. 675-700.

38. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 9: "bella civilia quinque gessit: Mutinense, Philippense, Perusinum, Siculum, Actiumcum."

39. Cf. 19: "haec hactenus Attico vivo edita a nobis sunt." (Atticus died in 32 B.C.) The additional chapters contain nothing here relevant.

40. Porphyrio to Hor. *Carm.* ii. 1. 1. Porphyrio does not say at what point Pollio's history ended. Pseudo-Acro states that he wrote "belli civili historiam inter Pompeium et Caesarum," but there is no reason to think that Pseudo-Acro knew more about this than his source Porphyrio. Suidas, s.v. Πολλίος δ' Άσινιος κρηπτός, whom he describes as a sophist and philosopher from Tralles living at Rome in Pompey's day, declares that this Pollio wrote a history of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. It is conceivable that Pollio of Tralles wrote such an account, but more probable that we have here a garbled reference to the *Historiae* of the Roman Pollio. Nothing can be inferred from Suidas' statement as to the scope of the latter work. Again, s.v. Άσινος Πολλίος, Suidas says that Pollio the Roman wrote a Roman history in seventeen books. The number seventeen, which it is unlikely Suidas made up out of the whole cloth, does not suggest a history of limited scope. Furthermore Priscian (viii. 19) quotes a passage from Pollio which almost certainly refers to Agrippa's passage of the Rhine in 38 B.C. and to his campaign in Dalmatia four years later: "culus experta virtus bello Germaniae traducta ad custodiam Illyriae est." As E. Wölfflin pointed out ("C. Asinius Pollio de bello Africo," *Sitz. der phil. und histor. Klasse. der K. bayer. Akad. der Wiss.*, III [1889], 324) there is stylistic evidence indicating this passage is from Pollio's history rather than from an oration. It is hard to understand in what connection Pollio could have introduced a factual statement of this sort unless he included the Dalmatian war that began in 34 B.C., nor is it likely, once he had carried his narrative thus far, that he would have stopped before the defeat and death of Antony and his wife. Finally it appears prob-

able that a historian meticulous enough to commence his account more than ten years prior to open hostilities would continue until the definitive restoration of civil peace. J. André, in *la Vie et l'Oeuvre d'Asinius Pollio* (Paris, 1949), which has reached me as this article is in proof, argues implausibly that Pollio concluded his history with the republican defeat at Philippi. He attempts to dispose of the quotation in Priscian cited above by denying that it is from the *Historiae*. It cannot, he says, refer to Agrippa's campaigns of 38 and 34 B.C. (or to later ones of Tiberius) since these events are not within the chronological limits of the work (p. 61). Since we do not know at what point Pollio ended his history, this is circular reasoning.

41. That Pollio ended with Caesar's death, which L. R. Palmer (*OCD*, p. 710) considers possible, will not square with the statement of the elder Seneca that Pollio as historian was most hostile to Cicero's memory, which implies that Pollio recounted Cicero's last days in 43 B.C. (*Suas.* 6).

42. The date suggested by Nauck years ago still appears the most probable (28 B.C.). Certain ideas contained in the poem may have germinated in Horace's mind much earlier; cf. C. W. Mendell, "The Epic of Asinius Pollio," *Yale Classical Studies*, I (1928), 203: "The tone of the ode which has none of Horace's optimistic faith in the régime of Augustus would argue a date early rather than late in this period [39-23 B.C.]".

43. Cf. to 4-5: "et arma nondum explatis, id est: de quibus nondum expiati crux sunt, ergo intellegi vult, paene adhuc in manibus esse arma civilia."

44. "In consulatu sexto et septimo, p[ro]sternam bellum civili extinxeram . . ." [34]. Thus in H. Malcovati's *Cesaris Augusti Operum Fragmenta* (Turin, 1948). Octavian was consul for the sixth time in 28 B.C.

45. Cf. p. 218 above.

46. That Books cix-cxvi of the complete Livy were thus designated would seem to result from the Livian quotation found in the *Commenta Bernensis* to Lucan (ed. H. Usener [Leipzig, 1869]) ill. 182, which is introduced thus: "Livius in primo libro bellum civili at . . ." The two references to the fourth book of Livy's *Bellum civile* which are printed in Endt's *Adnotationes* under x. 471 and 521, since they are not direct quotations, could stem from an epitome. All three are independent of the material in the *Periochae*.

47. Florus *Epitome*, (ed. O. Rossbach [Leipzig, 1896]), pp. xxvi-xxvii. Rossbach assigns these headings to the fourth century.

48. II. 13. 90.

49. Cf. Florus ii. 21: "hic [after the death of Antony and Cleopatra] finis armorum civilium, reliqua adversus exteras gentes."

50. II. 48. 3: "bello autem civili, et tot quae deinde per continuos XX annos consecuta sunt, malis non aliis maiorem flagrantiorē quam C. Curio tribunus pl. sublecit facem." Velleius goes on to characterize Curio in terms similar to those used by Lucan (iv. 793-854).

51. II. 89. 3: "finita vicesimo anno bella civilia, sepulta externa, revocata pax, sopitus ubique armorum furor, restituta vis legibus, iudicis auctoritas, senatus maiestas, imperium magistraturam ad pristinum redactum modum"; cf. *ibid.*, 87. 1: "... persecutus reginam Antoniūmque Alexandriam, ultimam bellis inpositul manum"; and 90. 1: "sepultis . . . bellis

civilibus coalescentibus rei publicae membris, etiam coaletere quae tam longa armorum series laceraverat."

52. In ll. 59. 4: "et patratis bellis civilibus ad erudiendam liberalibus disciplinis singularis indolem iuvenis Apolloniam eum in studia miserat," Velleius adopts Caesar's point of view; the latter thought the civil conflict had come to an end with Munda.

53. iv. 6. 4 (of Julia's fatal miscarriage): "... magno quidem cum totius terrarum orbis detrimento, culus tranquillitas tot civilium bellorum truculentissimo furore perturbata non esset, si Caesaris et Pompei concordia... mansisset."

54. *Suas.* 6: "iniusta bella albo Pharsalica, ac Mundensis Mutinensisque ruina vincitur... videbis illum non hominis sed belli civilis vultum." Latro mentions Munda and Mutina in the same breath, as parts of the same conflict.

55. *Contr. i. Proem.*

56. *De brev. vit. 4. 5.* This contrasts sharply with the notion that the destruction of the republican opposition at Philippi marked the end of civil warfare in the proper sense of the term.

57. *De ira ll. 11. 3.*

58. *Lucan viii.* p. xxii and n. 3.

59. *Ann. ill. 28:* "exim continua per viginti annos discordia, non mos, non ius; deterrima quaeque impune ac multa honesta exitio fuere. sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae securus, quae triumviratu iusserat abolevit deditque iura quis pace et principe uteremur."

60. i. 50. 1-3: "... non senatus modo et eques, quis aliquis pars eurae rei publicae, sed volgus quoque palam maere. nec iam recentia saevae pacis exempla, sed repetita bellorum civilium memoria captam totiens suis exercitibus urbem, vastitatem Italae, direptiones provincialrum, Pharsaliam Philippos et Perusiam ac Mutinam, nota publicarum cladum nomina, loquebantur. prope eversum orbem etiam cum de principatu inter bonos certaretur, sed mansisse C. Iulio, mansisse Caesare Augusto victore imperium." The expression "prope eversum orbem" is significantly reminiscent of Lucan's "Certatum totis concussi viribus orbis" (l. 5); Tacitus echoes this verse even more closely earlier in this book, where Galba says: "ne tamen territus fueris, si duas legiones in hoc concussi orbis motu nondum quiescunt" (16. 3).

61. Cf. n. 52 above.

62. Cf. n. 60 above.

63. Cf. U. Knoche, *Die römische Satire* (Berlin, 1949), p. 72: "Einen grossen Ruhepunkt der Handlung stellt die Dichtung des Eumolpus über den Bürgerkrieg dar, ein ernsthaft gemeintes Gegenstück zum Epos Lucans in klassisch-formvollen Hexametern, von parodistischer Wirkung nur durch den Rahmen"; cf. the radically different interpretation advanced by F. Martins in "A crise do maravilhoso na epopeia latina," *Humanitas*, I (Coimbra, 1947), 25-76, who argues that in Eumolpus' theories Petronius is satirizing those of Nero (p. 67) and that Eumolpus' doctrine is in fact the champion of the Lucanian technique of epic poetry: "É sobretudo a interpretação ao invés da doutrina poética de Eumolpus, devido ao seu nitido aspecto de sátira e de ironia, que nos faz chegar à conclusão não só de que Petronio concorda com a inovação de Lucano, mas até de que pode representar em relação a ela, na história literária, o papel de teorizador"

(p. 69). For a résumé of the views of many scholars on this question see E. Paratore, *Il Satyricon di Petronio*, II (Florence, 1933), 385-87; Paratore's own position (p. 385) is: "Siamo dinanzi ad una parodia che P. ha voluto fare di tutta la poesia contemporanea, in tutte le sue suddivisioni." Mention should also be made of Sanford's conclusion ("Lucan and his Roman Critics," p. 255): "The inherent parody, it seems to me, is of Eumolpus and his ilk, rather than of Lucan" and that of F. T. Baldwin, who after discussing the matter in her dissertation *The Bellum Civile of Petronius* (New York, 1911), concurs (p. 26 and n. 2) with W. E. Heitland (*op. cit.*, p. vi) that "It [Eumolpus' poem] reads like a fair copy written to show Lucan how to do it."

64. The objection that whatever inferences may be drawn from this episode concerning the scope envisaged by Lucan is of limited value since Petronius knew only the initial three books of the poem rests upon a number of assumptions, some of which are gratuitous and none of which are certain. It is not demonstrably true that the author of the *Satyricon* is the Petronius whose death in A.D. 65 Tacitus describes; that Lucan published only three books of his poem rests upon the dubious authority of the *Vaccan Life*, and Vacca does not specify which three. Even if the hasty assumption is made that Eumolpus knew merely the first three books of Lucan's epic, it does not follow, unless a radical change of design is indicated by the internal evidence of the remaining books, that his conception of the proper scope of a poem treating *belli civilis ingens opus* was not that held by Lucan as long as he worked upon his poem. It is probable, in view of the verbal and ideological similarities between Eumolpus' verses and passages in all the seven later books of the poem as well as the first three (Paratore, pp. 391-99, and Baldwin, pp. 71-88), that "Petronius" knew the poem in its present form.

65. The more precise *claustra* (the reading preferred by Buecheler), which refers to the fighting on Pharsos and the Heptastadium (cf. *BC* x. 509: "claustrum pelagi... Pharon") is better than the variant *castra* (Baldwin), which would allude to the battle of the Nile. Mention of this easy victory would not be appropriate in this context.

66. See nn. 60 and 62 above.

67. Cf. *BC* i. 183.

68. See above, p. 217.

69. Getty, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi-xxiv.

70. *Comm.* p. 24; cf. Getty, p. xxii.

71. *Comm.* p. 18 and n. 7. See also p. 218 above.

72. Cf. his earlier embarrassment in the *Prolusio* (pp. 9-10), where he has recourse to the argument that since Lucan does not describe the civil conflicts of Marius and Sulla, although he mentions them, the passages foreshadowing the warfare against Sextus Pompeius and the battle of Actium do not indicate that the poet intended to proceed beyond Philippi.

73. It is unlikely that Lucan would have attached any weight to the circumstance that the second triumph had lapsed before the final clash between Octavian and Antony.

74. Cf. R. Amann, *De Corippo priorum poetarum latinorum imitatore* (Oldenburg, 1885), pp. 25-28.

75. In like fashion the apparent end of civil strife with the death of Caesar in the Senate (l. 691) is directly followed by further visions depicting subsequent clashes.

76. not ca...
77. the mar...
78. stresses which to Oct...
79. birth scope, world morae...
firmas 3-5) a...
80. prag...
81. proba...
against while Cisal...
82. 1930; 83. must since 84. 1930; 85. ("The 1945; his s...
sar's corre...
to ta...
Sext...
43 b...
iv. 8

76. *Sat.* 118; *opus* in Lucan here refers to *tantae res*, not *causae tantarum rerum*.

77. See p. 224 above.

78. Cf. Getty to *vs.* 670: "domino: Caesar."

79. To deny this is to ascribe singular forgetfulness to the great astrologer, or ignorance hardly less remarkable to the poet himself. Suetonius (*Aug.* 94) stresses the wide currency of the anecdote according to which Figulus, upon learning that a son had been born to Octavius, and after ascertaining the hour of the birth had declared, doubtless after casting a horoscope, that the infant would one day be *dominus* of the world: "notas ac vulgata res est P. Nigidium comperta morae causa, ut horam quoque partus accepit, affirmasse dominum terrarum orbi natum." Dio (xlv. 1. 3-5) also tells this tale.

80. Cortius, Housman, and Getty so interpret *peraguntur* in this verse.

81. Cf. Getty to *vs.* 693: "ponit . . . The glance is probably at the coasts of Sicily and the campaign against Sextus Pompeius, as well as at Actium . . . while the *tellurem noram* of the next line may be Cisalpine Gaul. . . ."

82. Endt, *Adnotationes*, to *v.* 479.

83. If strict logic is to be observed, "Philippi" must here stand metonymically for Pharsalia alone, since Mutina is represented as coming later.

84. Cf. M. Hadas, *Sextus Pompey* (New York, 1930), pp. 22-24.

85. *ix.* 89-90.

86. The comment of B. M. Marti on these lines ("The Meaning of the 'Pharsala,'" *AJP*, LXVI [1945], 375): "Pompey's ghost, which was to appear to his son in Sicily (VI, 813) may have prophesied Caesar's murder and railed at his successors," although correctly interpreting them as foreshadowing a scene to take place later in the poem, is unfortunate, since Sextus did not arrive in Sicily before the latter part of 43 B.C. Cf. Hadas, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 66-67, 72; App. *BC* iv. 84; Dio xlviii. 17. 4.

87. Also noteworthy is the verbal similarity of *BC* vi. 814 (cited above) to *Aen.* v. 701-2: [Aeneas] "nunc *huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas/* mutabat ver-*sans, Siculise resideret arvis."*

88. Cf. Weise (ed. to *vi.* 813): "Dubio procul haec respiciunt aliquam in securitis partem Lucani operis, non absoluti, quam sibi proposuerat poeta faciendum, morte preeventus non absoluti." Francken (ed. [Leyden, 1896] to *vi.* 813) cites a scholium from Weber's collection *ad loc.*: "hic enim in Sicilia somnaturus est, patrem suum Pompeium ad se venientem, et suadentem sibi ut fugiat" as evidence that may indicate a "historical" basis for this vision. This scholium, however, merely paraphrases the poet, making the notion of flight, implicit in Lucan, explicit, and has no independent value.

89. Logically it might be thought that with the departure of "libertas" from the civilized world the struggle would be at an end, but it is idle to expect such consistency of Lucan. Several hundred verses later (696) he speaks of the struggle continuing after the elimination of Pompey as one between "Caesar" and "libertas"; cf. also *ix.* 29-30.

90. *Sat.* 118.

91. *proelia* (645) includes the entire series of battles prior to the restoration of peace in 29 B.C.; *proxima . . . suboles* (642) is the generation that grew up after the end of civil warfare.

92. Cf. *n.* 89 above.

93. *i.* 8-66.

94. Similar comment may be made on the phrase "Caesareae domus series" in the passage which sums up the poet's characterization of Curio:

ius licet in iugulos nostros sibi fecerit ensis
Sulla potens Mariusque ferox et Cinna cruentus
Caesareaeque domus series, cui tanta potestas
concessa est? [*iv.* 821-24].

95. See p. 227 above and *n.* 80.

96. Cf. *vi.* 419-22 and 589 with *vi.* 802-5 and *ix.* 88-90.

THE GRAIN TRADE BETWEEN GREECE AND EGYPT¹

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IN RECENT years our increasing knowledge of archaic Greek pottery, a large amount of which was found in Naukratis, and the study of the early coin hoards found, for the most part, in the Delta have aided substantially in the clarification of the problem of the trade relationship between the Greek states and Egypt in the archaic period. The use of this evidence, however, involves many difficulties so that any complete interpretation, in conjunction with the literary evidence, is still premature. Hasebroek and Milne² have emphasized the consideration that the pottery from Naukratis, and presumably that found in small quantities elsewhere in Egypt,³ was imported (or, in the case of some groups, made locally) for the use of the Greeks, largely for dedications in their own sanctuaries. It was hardly imported for sale in quantity to Egyptians. Possibly some of those Greek states to which pottery fabrics found at Naukratis have been ascribed were concerned rather with profiting from the sale of their vases and such products as wine and oil to the Greek community than with buying Egyptian commodities. Some states may not have been the carriers of their own pottery, while others, such as Aegina and Teos, which did not have a pottery fabric for export, are credited by Herodotus⁴ with an interest in the Egyptian trade. Thus, aside from the technical questions of sorting out the various fabrics, assigning them to centers of manufacture and working out their chronology—still far from settled in the case of the East Greek wares—we are faced with the problem of how reliable an index the pottery is for trade connections with Egypt

since, in itself, it was not an article of exchange in quantity. It seems necessary to consider the case of each of the major states involved in the light of other evidence and of their own needs rather than to make a simple equation of pottery fabric, its known or conjectured producer, and an interest in purchasing Egyptian commodities.

The numismatic evidence, however, is probably a more reliable guide to the general nature of the trade. The uniform pattern of composition in the archaic hoards⁵ and their discovery at scattered points in the Delta seem to indicate that certain Greek states were responsible for bringing the coins to Egypt to buy commodities in quantity from the Egyptians. This evidence, first brought into prominence by Dressel and Regling, and recently discussed by Milne and Sutherland,⁶ shows that in the archaic period, as later, Egyptian grain was the chief article of trade in quantity and that it was paid for in large part by silver from the Thraco-Macedonian silver producing region. While the origin of much of this silver is certain, it is highly improbable that its producers carried it to Egypt or consumed Egyptian grain in any quantity. Thus, the question of which Greek states were the chief carriers and consumers arises. In the present article I shall attempt to find a solution by reviewing the evidence of the hoards and attempting to relate it in some degree with the activity of various states at Naukratis as indicated by the archaeological and literary material. Naukratis itself must have been the most important center, if not the only one, of this trade.⁷ A solution will be of value, not only for the

particular problem of trade, but for the light thrown on the early economic development of certain Greek communities in their perennial attempt to ensure their food supply.

The Egyptian hoards, both of the archaic and classical periods,⁸ frequently contain not only minted coins, but also bars and lumps of silver and clippings from coins; some hoards, in fact, are made up entirely of unminted silver and clippings.⁹ This silver was evidently used in Egypt as a bullion currency, since Egypt had no minted money of its own, and represents, so to speak, a small surviving portion of Egypt's favorable trade balance. Much of it must have been melted down. Presumably Greek buyers went out into the Delta to make their purchases of grain although we may assume that most deliveries and shipments were made from Naukratis. This infiltration of individual Greeks is apparently reflected in the sporadic finds of Greek pottery, mentioned above; it was true also of the period of Herodotus, since he mentions Greek residents in various cities.¹⁰ The coins, with the important exception of those of Miletus,¹¹ are of large denominations so they must have been brought into the country for large scale purchases of goods and do not represent the specie spent by travellers and sailors. Many of them, as well as the bars of silver, are marred by cuts, made to determine whether the metal was solid or plated. The coins, of course, are of various standards, according to their mints, and the bars show no relation in weight to each other or to any standard.

The most striking feature of the composition of the archaic hoards is the uniform representation and the great preponderance of coins from the Thraco-Macedonian area—about 30% of the total. Presumably a large part of the un-worked silver might safely be assigned to the same region, an article of export pre-

ceding and accompanying the minted coins. The coins are not only from the Pangaeus region proper: from the cities of Thasos, Neapolis, Lete, and the native tribes of the mining area, but from the adjacent regions of the Chalkidike and western Thrace. The Chalkidic cities represented are: Acanthus, Dicaea, Scione, Mende, Terone, Sermyle, and Potidaea;¹² from western Thrace: Abdera and Dicaea, but not Maroneia. It is unlikely that any of these places were carrying the silver of this region to Egypt or importing Egyptian grain in large quantity.¹³ The coins from the cities on the periphery of the mining region would indicate that the carriers are to be sought among the states having trading relations with them and a known activity in Egypt. It is improbable that the silver would pass through another intermediary handler.

The states from the area of mainland Greece best represented in the hoards are Athens, Aegina, and Corinth. Athens has forty-seven coins, Aegina thirty-two, and Corinth twenty, but some qualifications are necessary on the score of date. The Aeginetan coins are almost entirely of the type with older incuse, dated in the late seventh and earlier part of the sixth century.¹⁴ Many of the Corinthian coins are of similarly early date and none are found in the fifth century hoards.¹⁵ On the other hand there are only two Athenian coins of the *Wappenmünzen* type, dated by Seltman 594–62 B.C.; possibly three others are earlier than the middle of the century, but there is a steady and marked increase only after that period.¹⁶ Evidently Aegina and Corinth were the states most interested in the Egyptian trade in the early part of the sixth century and were gradually replaced by Athens in the latter part of the century.

Aegina has usually been considered the most active of these states in the trade with Egypt, even to the extent of estab-

lishing a virtual monopoly over the distribution of Egyptian grain in the central and western Aegean regions.¹⁷ There would seem to be a reflection of this, of course, in Herodotus' list of the states with sanctuaries at Naukratis, for Aegina is the only state from the western Aegean so represented.¹⁸ Since Aegina had no exportable pottery fabric in this period, it is scarcely possible to use the fairly substantial amount of Corinthian and Attic pottery of the first part of the sixth century found at Naukratis¹⁹ in a comparison. It has, in fact, been suggested that Aeginetans were the carriers of the pottery.²⁰ While these considerations may well reflect the fact that Aegina carried the bulk of the grain imported by the western and central Aegean states, the view that it exercised a monopoly seems open to some question. In the first place it is necessary to assume for the establishment of this monopoly a rather long period of Aeginetan trade in Egypt before the last quarter of the seventh century when Greek pottery appears, *i.e.*, when Greek settlement was made.²¹ This is possible, but it would also seem necessary to assume close commercial connections between Corinth and Aegina after that date. There is a relatively large number of Corinthian coins as compared to Aeginetan in the hoards. Moreover, a substantial number of Egyptian objects were found at the Corinthian sanctuary of Perachora.²² Did Corinth buy both grain and such objects from Aeginetan merchants? She might have done so before the last quarter of the seventh century, but seems to have been breaking away from the Aeginetan monetary area during that period and attaching herself to the Euboean.²³ On the whole it seems unlikely, since we know that Corinth had ships and was already interested in trading eastwards across the Aegean, as the Corinthian pottery found in Rhodes indicates. Certainly, Corinth's main sphere of

trade and source of grain was in the west, but she was apparently interested also in the Egyptian supply and probably paying for it with silver from the Thraco-Macedonian region. In the Zagazig hoard was a Corinthian coin made by overstriking a Thraco-Macedonian piece.²⁴ While the sources of Corinthian silver are not definitely known,²⁵ the foundation of and continuing efforts to hold Potidaea, and the Corinthian monetary affiliation with Euboea and through Euboea with the colonies of the Chalkidike, seem to point to the Pangaean region as one of the areas on which the city relied. On the other hand Aegina probably drew her silver from the island of Siphnos.²⁶ Athens, however, after the middle of the sixth century, as a result of Peisistratus' personal interests in the mining region, brought some of this Thraco-Macedonian silver to Egypt, probably in the form of its own minted coin.²⁷ The greater part of it was probably carried by the East Greeks, whose connections with both Thrace and Egypt were closer than those of the western Aegean states.

It has already been suggested by Milne and Sutherland²⁸ that the Ionian states were the chief carriers of the silver, obtaining it by an exchange of textiles and other manufactured goods with the natives. The coins from the East Greek area considerably outnumber those from the western Aegean and show representation from a variety of states. While this variety of coinage might represent a general consumption of Egyptian grain and a close interweaving of trade connections, there are certain states whose coinage predominates and which appear to have been very prominent at Naukratis. If their connection with the Thraco-Macedonian district can be established it seems reasonable to see in them the main carriers and, perhaps, consumers of the grain.

For convenience of discussion we might

divide the East Greek states into a northern area including the islands and mainland cities from Caria north and a southern group centering around Rhodes—the Dodecanese islands, Lycia, Cilicia, and Cyprus. Although the trade of this last group with Egypt was presumably of as much importance as that of the northern group of cities, to judge from the relative quantity of their coins, it seems hardly necessary to consider it for our purposes since there does not appear to be any evidence of a strong Rhodian or Cypriote connection with the Thraco-Macedonian region. Cyrene, too, as might be expected, has a substantial representation in the hoards, but again there is no reason to suppose that Cyrenean traders went to the northern Aegean.

Of the northern group of states Miletus has twenty-five coins in the hoards, Chios seventeen, Samos seven, Phocaea five, and Teos three. The Tean representation is misleadingly small since some of its inhabitants fled from the prospect of Persian rule to recolonize Abdera *ca.* 545 B.C. Abdera's coinage is dated to the period after this transplantation²⁹ and some of its coins were found in the hoards. Phocaea, too, suffered a partial removal to the west *ca.* 540 B.C. after failing to come to an agreement with Chios for the purchase of the Oenussae Islands.³⁰ The absence of Lesbian coins is somewhat surprising in view of the other evidence of the presence of its citizens in Naukratis³¹ but perhaps is to be explained by the fact that its colonial ventures and political interests were in Aeolia and the Thracian Chersonese rather than in the Thraco-Macedonian region. Of this group we might eliminate Samos as an important carrier. It has a relatively small representation compared to that of Miletus and Chios and what evidence we have for the source of its silver would seem to indicate Siphnos rather than the north.³² Possibly, too,

its connections with Egypt, well attested for the tyranny of Polycrates, were rather later in origin than those of the other states mentioned.³³ Phocaea might also be eliminated, on the considerations that its trading interest was in the far west, and the source of its silver probably Tartessus.³⁴ It would seem that Miletus, Chios, and, to a lesser degree, Teos are left as probable carriers.

The claims of Miletus would seem to be less justified than those of Chios. It does have more coins in the hoards than any other East Greek state, but they are all of small denominations and are found in only two hoards.³⁵ This would suggest that, while Miletus may have been a carrier, it was not a purchaser of grain on its own account. It is, indeed, rather difficult to understand why it should have purchased Egyptian grain considering the agricultural development of its own local territory³⁶ and its connections with the Euxine. These latter would have been in the process of development during the early sixth century, if the revised foundation dates suggested for the Black Sea colonies are correct.³⁷ Further, Miletus does not appear to have had direct connections with the Thraco-Macedonian district, for its colonial activity was directed to the Hellespont and to the Black Sea. As we shall demonstrate below the view of its reputedly important position at Naukratis is open to some modification. On the whole, then, Miletus' participation in the grain trade with Egypt was probably limited to carriage for the smaller islands and cities in its vicinity.

Chios has, of course, long been recognized as one of the wealthy and economically advanced Ionian states of the archaic period. There is some evidence to suggest that its agriculture was early transformed towards specialized viticulture and olive production, which would, of course, have the effect of making it dependent on im-

ports of grain. While the literary references to its famous wine begin only in the fifth century,³⁸ the amphora appears as a symbol on the coins soon after the middle of the sixth century;³⁹ if the story of Thales' corner of olive presses is to be believed, the island was growing olives in the early sixth century.⁴⁰ The record of Chios as the earliest "slave-state" of Greece,⁴¹ making use of purchased barbarian slaves, might indicate an extensive use of slaves in agriculture and possibly in industry, while its citizens engaged in trade.⁴²

Chios was, then, a wealthy state presumably in need of imported grain. It is significant that relief was not sought in colonization on any scale and equally significant that the only colonial foundation of importance was made very early in western Thrace at Maroneia.⁴³ This colony was not in the silver producing region, but could have served as a depot for trade with the inland tribes⁴⁴ and a calling point en route to Thasos. Some reflection of rivalry with Paros and Thasos in this region survives in the literary tradition,⁴⁵ but, if Archilochus' taste for Ismarian wine has any significance beyond a Homeric reminiscence, there was trade also.⁴⁶ It seems a not unreasonable assumption that Chian wine, olive oil, and manufactured goods may have been sent to the Greek coastal cities and the inland tribes in exchange for silver and slaves before the period of extensive agricultural development in Thrace.⁴⁷ We have little archaeological evidence of Chian trade with this region except some pottery found at Thasos and Neapolis (Kavalla),⁴⁸ but there has been little excavation and publication. In view of certain characteristics of the Chian coinage of the archaic period, it seems probable that such a connection existed.

Chios stood somewhat apart from the other Ionian states in that the principal fabric of its coins was silver,⁴⁹ not elec-

trum, which indicates that it had access to supplies of silver. The source could scarcely have been Siphnos,⁵⁰ and it is unlikely that it was Asia Minor, or Chios would have struck more electrum. It apparently made little effort to acquire electrum, for its commercial relations with the coastal cities of Asia Minor do not appear to have been extensive.⁵¹ The island found itself or placed itself in a trading situation in which silver was needed, that is for the trade with Egypt, where electrum coins are conspicuous by their scarcity. Chios evidently had sufficient silver and sufficient trade to create a standard of its own, which fitted easily into either the Milesian or Euboic standards.⁵² The symbols on its earliest coins, found, significantly enough, in Egypt, are similar to those of the early Thraco-Macedonian group.⁵³ Further, when Abdera began to coin after its re-colonization by Teos, it did so on a standard related to the Chian, which would indicate one area of Chian influence in this region.⁵⁴ Chios, then, would appear to be chief carrier of the Thraco-Macedonian silver to Egypt and a large importer of Egyptian grain. It might also, of course, have distributed silver to the Rhodian area. Probably, too, Chios imported grain from the Black Sea when the export trade of its cities had developed; if the size of the Chian war fleet is any gauge of that of its merchant fleet, the latter was larger than that of any other Ionian city, since Chios had one hundred vessels in the combined fleet of 353 which fought against the Persians at Lade,⁵⁵ while Miletus provided eighty, Lesbos seventy, and Samos sixty.

It is probable that Teos, too, shared in this trade in grain with Egypt. The re-colonization of Abdera is an indication of its interest in the Thraco-Macedonian region; further, its colonial activity in the Milesian preserve of the Cimmerian Bosphorus shows that it was on good terms with Miletus and Chios in the early sixth

century.⁵⁶ In Naukratis, too, Teos was of more prominence than the bare reference of Herodotus implies. Teos' need for imported grain is attested in the early fifth century by the well known inscription invoking curses on those who prevented its import and engaged in its re-export.⁵⁷

When the evidence of Naukratis is considered the position of Miletus seems to be paramount at first sight. According to the tradition reported by Strabo⁵⁸ Miletus was the founder of Naukratis. There is no doubt that the sanctuary of Apollo, from which such a large amount of dedicated pottery has been obtained, was that of the Milesian Apollo.⁵⁹ Miletus was formerly considered to have made and carried to Naukratis a large part of the "Rhodo-Milesian" ware found on the site.⁶⁰ The dedicatory inscriptions to Apollo, written in Ionic and without designation of the worshipper's nationality were confidently assigned to Milesians on the assumption that they must have been the dedicators in their own shrine.⁶¹

When the material is examined, however, this picture of Milesian predominance is seen to be in need of revision, particularly in favor of Chios. From an examination of the dedicatory inscriptions in which an ethnic is given it appears that the Milesians were not the most frequent dedicators and that there is no reason to suppose that the use of a sanctuary was limited to the citizens of the state which founded it. The shrines were rather in common use by visiting traders of various states and by Naukratite citizens. The number of inscriptions in which ethnics were written is very small in proportion to the number of vases dedicated and to those on which only the name appears. Nevertheless, such a sampling should have some value as an index. The result of an examination of the lists published in the excavation reports is: Tean five, Lesbian five, Chian four, Phocaean two, Milesian

two.⁶² The evidence is very scanty and might be enlarged by a consideration of names, letter forms, and dialects; since we are concerned with Ionian states, however, the use of the latter would involve considerable controversy and uncertainty. The evidence does, with that of the coins, point to the northern Ionian area and to Teos and Chios in particular. That impression is confirmed when we consider the use of the sanctuaries and the various pottery fabrics.

Among the dedications in the Apollo sanctuary there is one certain and one possible (depending on the restoration) Tean; one Chian; two, to judge from the dialect, are Dorian; Phanes is presumably from Halicarnassus, if he is correctly identified with the man who played the traitor in the Persian conquest of Egypt; there are no inscriptions which specifically state that the dedicator is a Milesian, but conversely, a Milesian appears to have made a dedication in the Hellenion, the joint sanctuary of nine other states.⁶³ Thus, since the sanctuary was not limited to its own nationals, who sometimes went to other sanctuaries, it would hardly seem justifiable to conclude that the inscriptions without ethnics were necessarily made by Milesians. They might equally well have been made in part by citizens of Naukratis or by visiting traders who did not take the trouble to indicate whence they came.

The same general usage would appear to have been true of the Aphrodite sanctuary, although in its case we do not have any definite information about the founder, although Chios is a likely candidate, and it has been regarded as the sanctuary of the city in distinction to those of the traders.⁶⁴ Chians, Teans, Lesbians, and Samians would seem to have used it; to judge by the nature of the cult, that of Aphrodite Pandemos, and the cosmopolitan character of Naukratis it was no doubt

extremely popular.⁶⁵ Very few dedications were found in the Heraion, since its filling had been largely removed by peasants in the interests of better crops; they preserve no ethnics although there is some reason to connect the type of cup on which some inscriptions were scratched with Samos.⁶⁶ The sanctuary of the Dioscuri also yielded few inscriptions, but among them is that of a Phocaean.⁶⁷ The Hellenion offers a variety of ethnics both from members and nonmembers.⁶⁸

The same conclusion about the common use made of sanctuaries would seem apparent from the pottery fabrics. While it would be difficult and perhaps impossible, as a result of the incomplete study and wide distribution of the pottery after the excavation, to make a table of the relative quantities of the various wares found in the separate *temene*, it is evident that no one fabric was limited to a specific sanctuary; even if we could identify Milesian ware with certainty, the pottery from the sanctuary of the Milesian Apollo is not all Milesian, and that at the earliest period.⁶⁹ Yet there does appear a certain amount of affinity between dedicators and their native pottery. A group of Lesbian dedications to Aphrodite is found on Lesbian bucchero ware; there is some reason to assign to Samos a group of cups with dedications to Hera; a small group of Ionian cylixes may perhaps be Cnidian in manufacture and dedication;⁷⁰ Chians use their own pottery, in some cases prepared beforehand in Chios, for dedication upon arrival.⁷¹ This cannot, however, be pressed, for Chians use Attic; Teans, Chiot; Greco-Egyptians, Chiot; Samians, Chiot; and Cyreneans, Laconian, possibly because the ware was brought to Naukratis by way of Cyrene.⁷² Evidently, the various fabrics were brought into Naukratis for common sale and the dedicators, visitors and citizens alike, chose according to their fancy, which might be filial or

might prefer a novelty. We can assume reasonably that in the first instance the foundations of the sanctuaries would be due to the filial feelings of the traders and of the early residents. There should also be a tendency among visiting traders and residents of the first and second generations to frequent the sanctuaries of their own gods, but, from the evidence of common usage, these gods seem to have become Naukratite deities at an early date. There does not appear to have been any tendency to maintain the sanctuaries as the separate property of a far away state over a long period of time. It does seem justifiable to see in the great relative proportion of Chiot ware, now regarded as made in Chios and not in Naukratis,⁷³ the reflection of an early and extensive use of the settlement and residence in the community by Chians. Probably, too, from the predominance of the ware in the sanctuary of Aphrodite and the appropriateness of its shapes for dedication we might infer that Chians were the founders of that shrine,⁷⁴ which appears to be as early as the sanctuary of Apollo.

It seems probable that in Naukratis, where many Greeks from different cities were living in a single community in a foreign land, the common elements of their culture overwhelmed the separatist ties with their cities and aided in the formation of the city state of Naukratis. The settlers' ties with Greece were maintained by the traders and the Greek articles which the latter brought and were strengthened by the obstacles to political expansion in Egypt. The community was, so to speak, turned inwards upon itself. Naukratis did not, like later settlements in Hellenistic Egypt, Egyptianize, but acted and was regarded by the rest of the Greek world as a Greek polis. There was from the outset little intermarriage, to judge from the names on the archaic Greek inscriptions⁷⁵ and the Greek character of the

offerings, despite the existence of an older Egyptian town in the immediate vicinity. This Hellenic character was maintained in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods by a civic ordinance forbidding intermarriage with Egyptians. If this regulation originated in the pre-Ptolemaic city, as Wilcken has suggested,⁷⁶ Greek women or Hellenized Thracians must have been brought there in some numbers. Perhaps the *hetaerae* for which Naukratis was famous

had a more fundamental role in the creation of the city than providing amusement for visiting traders. *Mutatis mutandis*, may we mention the example of some American frontier communities? In the early development of the community the evidence indicates that East Greeks played a leading part, and that among the East Greek states it was Chios, not Miletus, which was most prominent.

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NOTES

1. My thanks are due to Professor William F. Edgerton of the Oriental Institute for suggestions in connection with this article and, more particularly, with the study of the organization of Naukratis mentioned in note 76.

2. J. Haselroek, *Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece* (translated by L. M. Fraser and D. C. MacGregor [London, 1933]), pp. 62 f.; *idem*, *Staat und Handel im alten Griechenland* (Tübingen, 1928), p. 64; J. G. Milne, "Trade Between Greece and Egypt Before Alexander the Great," *JEA*, XXV (1939), 178.

3. See the list in the article by R. M. Cook, "Amasis and the Greeks in Egypt," *JHS*, LVII (1937), 236-37. Greek pottery has been found in small quantities at widely scattered points in the Delta and Thebaid; it apparently represents residence by individual Greeks or occasional purchases by Egyptians. The fabrics are mainly East Greek, dating, like the pottery from Naukratis, from the late seventh century through the course of the sixth; there is no break during the reign of Amasis. Cook has pointed out that the latter is true of the pottery of Tell Defenneh. Thus, the concentration of Greeks in Naukratis by Amasis would scarcely seem to be correct (*ibid.*, pp. 233, 235-36).

4. Herodotus ii. 178.

5. The hoards of particular value for the archaic period are: Demanthur (ca. 1900-01) with 165 coins (Noe, "A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards," *Nomismatische Notes und Monographs*, No. 78 [1937], 94, No. 323); Zagazig (1901) with 84 coins (*ibid.*, p. 309, No. 1178). These two hoards were published in a very useful article by Dressel and Regling, "Zwei ägyptische Funde altgriechischer Silbermünzen," *Zeit. f. Num.*, XXXVII (1927), 1-138. Benha el-Asl (1928) with 71 + coins buried ca. 485 B.C. (Noe, *op. cit.*, p. 49, No. 143); Delta (1887) with 24 coins, buried ca. 500 B.C. (Noe, *op. cit.*, p. 105, No. 362); Myt-Rahineh (1860) with 23 coins buried in the sixth century B.C. (Noe, *op. cit.*, p. 191, No. 722); Sakha (1897) with 72 + coins (Noe, *op. cit.*, p. 233, No. 885). There are, in addition to these relatively large and at least partially complete hoards, small groups of coins which are apparently from hoards of the same period and help to supplement the picture: Damietta (1899 ?) with Cyrenaic coins (Noe, *op. cit.*, p. 89, No. 299); Egypt (ante 1879) with Thraco-Macedonian coins (Noe, *op. cit.*, p. 104, No. 361); Egypt (1900 ?) with Croesus stater (Noe, *op. cit.*, p. 105, No. 365); Fayoum (ante 1913) with Thraco-Macedonian coins (Noe, *op. cit.*,

p. 115, No. 411). We shall be concerned, however, with the composition of only the six more complete hoards. There are, in the case of each, certain difficulties as to the circumstances of finding and questions of "contamination" and partial break-up before the hoards came to the notice of scholars. These do not affect the use of the hoards to any great degree.

6. Dressel and Regling, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-27; Milne, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-83; C. H. V. Sutherland, "Corn and Coin: A Note on Greek Commercial Monopolies," *AJP*, LXIV (1943), 143-44; "Overstrikes and Hoards," *Num. Chron.*, II (1942), 13-16; the literary evidence for the trade in grain and other commodities is collected by Mallet, "Les premiers établissements des Grecs en Egypte," *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, XII (1897), 1, 277-364. Milne reduces the quantity trade between Greece and Egypt to an exchange of Egyptian grain for Greek silver, arguing that Egyptian linen was not used for Greek sailcloth, that the export of papyrus and glass was largely Hellenistic and Roman, that Greek wine was not used by the Egyptians, who were beer drinkers, that Greek textiles were hardly fitted for use in the Egyptian climate and that Greek timber was too expensive. This seems a somewhat excessive modification on both the score of Egyptian exports and imports; a large number of objects of faience and alabaster have been found on archaic Greek sites; while they may have been made in large part by Greeks in Naukratis and elsewhere the material is at least Egyptian. Herodotus makes an interesting, if obscure, remark about the importation of Greek wine after the Persian conquest (iii. 6): wine was brought from Greece and Phoenicia in jars which were collected by the authorities and sent to Memphis for use in supplying the desert route to Syria with water. The Naukratis Stele of the fourth century B.C. specifically mentions the importation of timber and worked wood into Egypt through Naukratis (B. Gunn, *JEA*, XXIX [1943], 58, 9a). It may, of course, have been brought from the Lebanon. With respect to other commodities the literary evidence does indicate that linen and papyrus were known and used by the Greeks before the Hellenistic period, but certainly they appear as rarely used or luxury articles. In such a comparison of commodities the question of value should be considered, but unfortunately our evidence scarcely allows it. On the whole, Milne's judgment on the score of quantity would seem correct, for other Egyptian exports than grain would pack into a small space and it is hardly

necessary to stress the need for imported grain in most Greek states at an early date.

7. The most recent discussions of the site with citation of earlier treatments are those of E. Gjerstad, "Studies in Archaic Greek Chronology, I. Naukratis," *LAAA*, XXI (1934), 67-84 and R. M. Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-37. Gjerstad attempted to reconstruct the stratification of the temenos of Apollo from the published reports of the excavation by Petrie and by identification of the latter's pottery classes; his conclusion was in favor of a foundation of the Greek settlement largely in the reign of Amasis. Cook has rightly pointed out that adequate information for such a reconstruction does not exist in Petrie's report (*Naukratis*, I) and that the filling was evidently confused (*op. cit.*, p. 228, n. 6; *BSA*, XXXIV [1933-34], 86, n. 2). Since the literary evidence of Strabo and Herodotus, the chief authorities, is inconclusive as to date, the situation would now seem to be that Naukratis' foundation must be dated from the evidence of the pottery. Cook, largely on the evidence of the Attic and Corinthian pottery, of which the chronology is better established than that of the East Greek wares, favors a date in the last quarter of the seventh century, ca. 615-10 B.C.; he further considers that the evidence of the pottery does not suggest any sudden enlargement of the community in the reign of Amasis (see note 3). It seems questionable that Attic and Corinthian ware should be used to furnish a date of settlement in what was obviously an East Greek enterprise; the western pottery should rather mark the beginning of some extensive use of the settlement by western traders. While it is probable that some trade would be carried on before Greek settlement, since there was an Egyptian town on the site of Naukratis (H. Kees, *P.-W.*, XVI, 1957-59), it is likely that its volume would be small (on Greek-Egyptian relations in the seventh century see Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny*, pp. 86-103; Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers*, pp. 4-6). It is possible, of course, that many of the regulations concerning Greeks which Herodotus ascribes to Amasis were not of his own making, but were those of earlier rulers. Since Amasis was the most important of the Saite kings his figure would serve as a crystallization point in tradition.

8. The latter are composed largely of Athenian tetradrachms and, when the supply began to fail in the fourth century, of imitations. They reflect the domination of Athenian currency as a medium of international exchange in the trade of the fifth and fourth centuries. For the tetradrachm hoards see Noe, *op. cit.*, Nos. 144, 673, 729, 730, 957, 1082; add the hoards mentioned in *Naukratis*, I, 66 and a hoard recently found at Tell el-Mushkat (*Num. Chron.*, VII [1947], 115 ft.); for the imitations see also Dressel and Regling, *op. cit.*, p. 3, n. 2 and p. 19, n. 3. The percentages of coins from various mints given by Sutherland (*Num. Chron.*, II [1942], 16) are based on the hoards dated before 400 B.C., which obscures the difference in composition between the archaic and classical hoards, although it well illustrates the general picture of the movement of silver from north to south across the Mediterranean.

9. Dressel and Regling, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7 and 20-23; one such hoard was found at Tell Densenneh (*Tanis*, II, 76).

10. Herodotus II, 39, 41; see also Aristagoras of Miletus (fourth century B.C.), *FHG*, II, 98, frag. 5; Greek and Carian quarters in Memphis are mentioned; see Ure, *op. cit.*, p. 96, n. 4.

11. Milesian coins are found in two hoards only:

Demanhur (Dressel and Regling, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-64) and Delta (*Num. Chron.*, X [1890], 4); the maximum weight of these coins is 1.24 gms., which is roughly that of the Athenian one and one half obol pieces of the fifth century, the use of which was primarily local.

12. Dicaea in Chalkidike and Potidaea are represented only in the Zagazig hoard; this hoard is rather later than the others (Dressel and Regling, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 and 10). It contains 34 Athenian coins while the large and earlier Demanhur hoard contains none. The three earliest coins (Nos. 190-92) are dated by Seltman (*Athens, Its History and Coinage*, pp. 172-73) to the period, 546-536 B.C., and attributed to the Paeonian mint of Pelastris (*ibid.*, pp. 58-60); No. 193 belongs to the same group; the remainder in increasing volume are to be dated in the late sixth and early fifth centuries (Dressel and Regling, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-23). The latest coins, a group of 17, are compared by Regling to the types, *BMC, Athens*, Pl. III, 6-8.

13. Sutherland, *AJP*, LXIV (1943), 136-37; if local production could not satisfy the needs of these cities, the population of which would be small in the sixth century, the grain of Thrace and of the Black Sea region was nearer at hand and presumably cheaper than that from Egypt. See also note 47.

14. Dressel and Regling, *op. cit.*, p. 11, n. 1; 55; there is only one Aeginetan coin in the "Silversmith's Hoard" from Naukratis which was buried ca. 439 B.C. (Noe, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-93, No. 729) and one in the hoard found at Naukratis in 1905 (*ibid.*, p. 193, No. 730).

15. Dressel and Regling, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57; the Zagazig hoard (note 12) contained only one Corinthian coin and the Naukratite hoards, mentioned in the previous note, none.

16. Seltman, *op. cit.*, p. 147 (Sakha); three early coins with the head of Athena are included in the Delta hoard (*Num. Chron.*, X [1890], 12). Milne has ascribed the introduction of Athens to the Egyptian market to the economic sagacity of Solon ("The Economic Policy of Solon," *Hesperia*, XIV [1945], 230-45). He points out that issues which began ca. 566 (Head, *HN*, p. 369) found their way to Africa soon after their minting, for Cyrene began to overstrike them ca. 550 B.C. See also note 12 above.

17. Sutherland, *AJP*, LXIV (1943), 143-45; Milne, *Hesperia*, XIV (1945), 232 ff.; the islands of the central Aegean are not very well represented in the hoards; Naxos and Paros have 7 and 6 coins respectively; since we have no evidence to connect them specifically with Egypt they may well have purchased from Aegina.

18. Herodotus II, 178.

19. For the Corinthian see Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 25, n. 6 and p. 187; R. J. Hopper, *BSA*, XLIV (1949), 177, n. 65. The Corinthian dates from the late seventh century with most of the imports belonging to the first quarter of the sixth. For the Attic see Beazley and Payne, *JHS*, XLIX (1929), 253-72; Cook, *JHS*, LVII (1937), 228. The first Attic imports date from the late seventh century; while there is a decided increase after the middle of the sixth century it does not have the same intrusive force at Naukratis as in the West and the Black Sea.

20. Prinz, "Funde aus Naukratis," *Klio*, Beiheft VII (1905), 75, 77; Price, *JHS*, XLIV (1924), 202.

21. See the remarks of Milne, *Hesperia*, XIV (1945), 232 ff.; the earliest Corinthian and Attic pottery found at Naukratis is dated in the last quarter of the seventh century (see note 19 above).

22. They are as yet unpublished in full; a few early imports are published in Payne, *Perachora*, I, 76-77, 142-43.

23. Milne, *Hesperia*, XIV (1945), 235; *Num. Chron.*, I (1941), 9-15.

24. Dressel and Regling, *op. cit.*, p. 125, No. 233.

25. It seems probable, but not definitely established, that Corinth got silver from the Illyrian-Paeonian region (May, *Coinage of Damastion*, pp. viii-ix). Potidaea may have served as the base of one avenue of approach to this region (Wade-Gery, *CAH*, III, 552-53) as well as the center for Corinthian influence in the Chalkidike. The problem of its foundation is involved, however, with the difficult question of Cypselid chronology (H. R. W. Smith, "The Hearst Hydria," *Univ. of Calif. Publications in Classical Archaeology*, I [1944], 262). The existence of Corinthian *epidemiourgoi* at Potidaea indicates that Corinth tried to maintain very close relations with the colony (Thuc. i. 56. 2).

26. Sutherland, *AJP*, LXIV (1943), 134, n. 17; there was apparently rivalry between Samos and Aegina for Siphnian silver (Herodotus iii. 57-59).

27. It was probably in the form of Athenian coins if Seltman's identifications of the products of a Thracian mint are correct (n. 12 above; Sutherland, *AJP*, LXIV [1943], 142, n. 52).

28. Milne, *JEA*, XXV (1939), 179; Sutherland, *Num. Chron.*, II (1942), 14; see also Dressel and Regling, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-27.

29. Head, *HN*², p. 253.

30. Herodotus i. 165.

31. Mytilene was a member of the Hellenion (Herodotus ii. 178). There is also the well known story of the interest of Sappho's brother, if not in the wine trade, at least in the courtesan Rhodopis; somewhat more to the point are the finds of Lesbian pottery in Naukratis, some with inscriptions in the Lesbian dialect (*Naukratis*, II, 65, Nos. 786-93).

32. See note 26 above; perhaps a certain amount came from Spain if Colaeus' voyage was not an isolated instance (Herodotus iv. 152; Cary, "The Sources of Silver for the Greek World," *Mélanges Glotz*, I, 138).

33. Samos had a sanctuary of its own at Naukratis as did Aegina and Miletus (Herodotus ii. 178); the excavations yielded little material from the Heraion, but among it was a group of cups dedicated to Hera which are identified as of Samian origin (Prinz, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Lamb, *CVA*, Cambridge, Fasc. II, p. 35, No. 71). The "floruit" of Fikellura ware, of which a substantial and thoroughly representative amount was found at Naukratis, is placed in the middle of the sixth century with most of the examples from the site falling in the period, 560-525 B.C. It seems probable that Samos was the chief, if not the only center, of this ware (Cook, *BSA*, XXXIV [1933-34], 90 ff.). This would not, of course, preclude the possibility that Samians were active there before the second quarter of the sixth century, but it seems significant that it is in this period they begin to interfere in the established trade routes of the Aegean (Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-66; but see Hopper, *op. cit.*, p. 172, n. 43 on p. 173) and their activity under Polycrates bears a predatory character.

34. Herodotus i. 163.

35. See note 11 above.

36. The passage in Herodotus (i. 17-22) describing the warfare between Miletus and Alyates would indicate that the Milesians had developed their local agriculture to a high degree and that the raising of grain was an important part of it. It is difficult to determine

how great a part imported grain would play normally in their food supply since Herodotus' emphasis is on the sea as an avenue of supply in time of siege and his account may be colored somewhat by a comparison with Athenian efforts to assure their supply in the mid-fifth century.

37. The literary evidence of colonization is assembled by Bilabel, *Philologus, Supp. Band*, XIV (1920), 9-153. A re-examination of the traditional dating and the lowering of the chronology of the East Greek pottery classes has resulted in placing the foundation of the important and "key" colonies of Istrus, Olbia and Apollonia Pontica in the late seventh century, ca. 610-600 B.C. (Burn, *JHS*, LV [1935], 130 ff.; Cook, *JHS*, LXVI [1946], 82). A summary of recent Russian approaches to the problem, with bibliography, can be found in K. M. Kolobotha, *Vestnik Drevnii Istorii*, 1949, 2, 130 f.

38. See the references collected by Argenti, *Bibliography of Chios*, pp. 209 (s.v. Athenaios), 304 ff.

39. The dating of the Chian archaic coins is disputed. Baldwin (*AJN*, XLVIII [1914], 36 ff.) starts the series after 550 B.C., but admits the difficulty of dating the earliest examples to that period since they are very archaic in appearance; Mavrogordato (*Num. Chron.*, XV [1915], 17 ff.), on the other hand, starts the series in the last quarter of the seventh century. This dating would seem to have found general acceptance (Gardner, "The Financial History of Chios," *JHS*, XL [1920], 160; Seltman, *Greek Coins*, pp. 29 ff.). The majority of the early Chian coins are from Egypt. The archaic series are divided into two groups characterized by the presence of an amphora on the later and its absence on the earlier. Mavrogordato places the series with the amphora as starting ca. 545 B.C. There is a group of very early coins with the sphinx on the obverse, but on the Aeginetan standard (Head, *HN*², p. 599; accepted as Chian); they are rejected by Baldwin (*op. cit.*, p. 55), but accepted by Gardner (*op. cit.*, p. 161) as representative of an early Chian venture to accommodate its trading activity to that of Aegina before its own standard was settled upon; certainly the connection between Aegina and Chios indicated by the finds of Chiot pottery dedicated at the Aphaia temple (see note 71 below) is suggestive of the correctness of this attribution. One of these coins (Head, *HN*², p. 599) appears to have an amphora or grain of wheat stamped on it as a symbol.

40. Aristotle *Politics* 1259 a. The coupling of Chios and Miletus is interesting in the light of the evidence for their co-operation (Burn, *JHS*, XLIX [1929], 21-22, 36) in the political sphere.

41. Theopompos, *F. Gr. Hist.*, frag. 122 (quoted by Athenaeus vi. 88, 265C); Poseidionios of Apamea, *F. Gr. Hist.*, frag. 38 (quoted by Athenaeus vi. 91, 266EF); Nicolaus of Damascus, *F. Gr. Hist.*, frag. 95 (quoted by Athenaeus vi. 91, 266EF); Steph. Byz., s.v. Chios. Of more weight than these late writers are the interesting remarks of Thucydides (viii. 40. 2) that the Chians had the most slaves of any city except Sparta and punished them more severely because of their number; presumably many were used in agriculture, since Thucydides observes that they knew the country well. Westermann (*P.-W., Supp.* VI, 900) connects this literary tradition of the Chians being the first to use non-Greek purchased slaves with the development of a specialized agriculture and industry, but questions the accuracy of Thucydides' assertion about their number (*ibid.*, p. 906).

42. Aristotle *Politics* 1291 b 24.

43. Bilabel, *op. cit.*, p. 214; Beloch suggests that the Chian colonization was earlier than that of Thasos on the mainland (*GG*, I, 1, p. 254); note the importance of Ismarian wine, from the district of Maroneia, in the Homeric poems (*Il.* ix. 71-72; *Od.* ix. 196-98). We have little information about the city before the fifth century, but its coinage, on the same standard as that of the Thraco-Macedonian district, began before 500 B.C. (Head, *HN*², p. 248).

44. Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyria*, p. 91.

45. Harpokration, *s.v.* Stryme; Harpokration quotes Philochorus, who had cited Archilochus, with respect to a dispute between Thasos and Maroneia over Stryme. Apparently Thasos was successful, since Herodotus mentions Stryme as a Thasian possession (vii. 108). Its precise site is unknown, but it evidently lay to the east of Maroneia (Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, 517-19).

46. Archilochus frag. 2 (Diehl).

47. Rostovtzeff (*Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, I, 111 ff.; see also Casson, *op. cit.*, chap. II) has reviewed the archaeological evidence for Greco-Thracian trading, but mainly for eastern Thrace, which is slightly better known; for that area it is suggested that Cyzicus was the distributor of Ionian goods through the medium of Apollonia. Our first glimpse in any detail of conditions in western Thrace and Macedonia is the description given by Herodotus of Xerxes' march; at that time various cities were called upon for supplies and furnished them, albeit with some difficulty. The fertility of Thrace, however, had made an impression as early as the Homeric period (*Il.* xx. 485). Thus Ionian Greeks had been looking to it for some years before it appeared as a potential haven for some of them from Persian control (e.g., the Teans, Histiaeus, and Aristagoras). The Persian occupation of Thrace was followed at no great interval by the Ionian revolt; if economic causes were partly responsible, as is usually assumed, some part of the grievance should lie in that. We do not, however, have any explicit evidence of its use as a grain supply before the Athenian interest in the region for that purpose in the fourth century. It is to be remembered that Methone looked to the Black Sea for its supply, with Athenian permission, in the early part of the Peloponnesian War (Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 61). It would seem probable, however, that viticulture was early developed in certain regions at least: Ismarian wine from the locality of Maroneia was famous in Homeric times and liked by Archilochus (notes 43 and 46); Thasos would probably have developed its vineyards in the sixth century. There is some evidence, however, that foreign wine was imported into the Pangaeus region and farther west into Illyria for a long period. It seems hardly necessary to cite evidence for an extensive use of wine in this region of Dionysos and reputedly heavy drinkers. Theopompos (*F. Gr. Hist.*, frag. 129; May, *op. cit.*, p. 12, n. 1) observes that sherds of Thasian and Chian jars were found in the River Naro in Illyria; we do not, of course, know their date, but they were probably identified by the stamps, use of which began in the late fifth century. It is also apparent that foreign wine might be imported into the littoral of the Pangaeus region to the detriment of Thasian production and sale in the last quarter of the fifth century. Daux has published an interesting inscription (*BCH*, L (1926), 214-26, No. 2) prohibiting the importation of foreign wine

in Thasian ships to the mainland. There was, then, evidently a demand for wine which the Thasians hoped to fill from their own vineyards. The extent of the mainland is interpreted by Daux (pp. 224-25) as extending from Athos, mentioned in the inscription, to the neighborhood of Stryme. It is unlikely, however, that Stryme was the eastern point, if Daux has a continuous strip of coast in mind, for it lay east of Maroneia (see note 45); that would imply Thasian control of Abderan and Maroneian territory. Probably the eastern limit of Thasian control was contiguous with the western boundary of Abdera. The mention of Thasian merchant vessels is the first explicit mention of such a fleet in operation although its growth would have coincided with the expansion of Thasian control of the mainland.

48. Cook, *BSA*, XLIV (1949), 159.

49. Gardner, *JHS*, XL (1920), 161.

50. See note 26; very little Chiot pottery has been found on Siphnos (Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 159).

51. *Ibid.*; here again excavation may change the picture.

52. Soltman, *Greek Coins*, pp. 29 ff.

53. The sphinx, rosette, cock's head, lotus; Svoronos (*JIAN*, 1919, pp. 219-20) was moved to detach these early coins from Chios and assign them to Asporos, but has found no support (Dressel and Regling, *op. cit.*, p. 66); for the significance of the symbols see Lederer, *Zeit. f. Num.*, XLI (1931), 252.

54. Beloch, *GG*, I, 1, p. 294; on Abdera and the coinage of the Thraco-Macedonian region see May, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-16 and 34.

55. Chiot pottery has been found at Istria, Kertch, Berezan and Olbia (Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 160); for the composition of the Ionian fleet at Lade see Herodotus vi. 8.

56. Burn, *JHS*, XLIX (1929), 22-23.

57. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 23.

58. Strabo xvii. 1. 18, 801; the literary evidence for the foundation is summarized by Ure, *Origin of Tyranny*, pp. 103-5.

59. Herodotus (ii. 178) mentions the sanctuary founded by Milesians to Apollo; many of the dedications designate Apollo as Milesian (*Naukratis*, I, 60-62, Nos. 2, 99, 110, 218, 219, 233, 234, 237, 341) and one as Didymalon (No. 164). The bulk of the pottery was found in a trench containing the discarded votives of the sanctuary; the accumulation dates from the late seventh century, well before the reign of Amasis. The sanctuary occupies a central position among those at the north end of Naukratis and is probably the oldest of the group comprising the Heraion, Hellenion and sanctuary of the Dioscuri.

60. Prinz, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 f.; it is no longer maintained, of course, that the pottery published by Prinz as Milesian and used as evidence of its trading activity was all made in Miletus or carried by Milesian traders.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-19.

62. Tean: *Naukratis* I, 61, No. 209 (Apollo Sanctuary); *ibid.*, II, 68, No. 876 (Apollo Sanctuary); *ibid.*, I, 62, No. 700 (Aphrodite Sanctuary); *ibid.*, II, 64, No. 758 (Aphrodite Sanctuary); *ibid.*, II, 65, No. 779 (Aphrodite Sanctuary). Lesbian: *ibid.*, II, 65, Nos. 786, 788-90 (Aphrodite Sanctuary); *JHS*, XXV (1905), 117, No. 40. Chian: *Naukratis*, II, 63, No. 706; 64, No. 757 (Aphrodite Sanctuary); *BSA*, V (1898-99), 55, No. 51 (Apollo Sanctuary); No. 60 (Hellenion). Phocaean: *Naukratis*, I, 62, No. 666 (Dioscuri

Sanctuary); *JHS*, XXV (1905), 117, No. 39. Milesian: *ibid.*, p. 117, Nos. 18, 19 (Hellenion). Rhodian: *ibid.*, p. 117, No. 16 (Hellenion). Naukratite (?): *ibid.*, p. 117, No. 27. Prinz identified three Samian dedications on the evidence of the names (*op. cit.*, p. 118): *Naukratis*, II, 64, No. 778; 65, Nos. 804-5 (Aphrodite Sanctuary); a Cnidian on the basis of the letter forms: *ibid.*, I, 62, No. 237 (Apollo Corinthian). To judge from the form of the names there are four dedications made by Greco-Egyptians: *ibid.*, II, 63, No. 741 (Aegyp-tios); 64, No. 754 (Psende...); No. 766 (Nego-mandros); No. 767 (Philammonos?). All are from the Aphrodite Sanctuary; the last two names are scratched on Laconian ware and thus may be the names of Cyreneans since Laconian ware was probably brought to Naukratis through that medium (Lane, *BSA*, XXXIV [1933-34], 184).

63. Teans: *Naukratis*, I, 61, No. 209; *ibid.*, II, 68, No. 876. Dorian: *ibid.*, I, 61, No. 104; 62, No. 237. Phanes: Herodotus III, 4, 11 and *Naukratis*, I, 61, No. 218. Chian: *BSA*, V (1898-99), 55, No. 51. Milesian: *JHS*, XXV (1905), 117, No. 19.

64. A literary tradition preserved by Athenaeus (xv, 675F, quoting from Polycharmus of Naukratis) connects the cult, very doubtfully, with the Paphian Aphrodite of Cyprus, but the archaeological evidence suggests that Chians may have been the founders. In Athenaeus' story, Herodotus, a Naukratite, was making a commercial voyage in the 23rd Olympiad (688 B.C.) in the course of which he touched at Paphos and bought a small statuette of Aphrodite. She saved his ship during a storm so that upon his arrival in Naukratis he dedicated the statuette to Aphrodite in her temple there. It is evidently a story attached to some archaic dedication in the temple like those which appear in the Lindian chronicle. The date appears to be much too early although it has recently been taken at its face value. H. L. F. Lutz ("An Attempt to Interpret the Name of the City of Naukratis," *Univ. of Calif. Publications in Semitic Philology*, X [1943], No. 12, 275-76) accepts the connection with the Paphian Aphrodite and suggests that the Aphrodite cult in Naukratis was in existence before the arrival of the Greeks and thus represents an assimilation with a Phoenician cult of Astarte. A similar suggestion is made for the Apollo cult, the result of assimilation with an indigenous or Phoenician god. Unfortunately for the suggestion, there is very little evidence of Phoenician activity at Naukratis, and the evidence of the excavation shows that both the Apollo and Aphrodite sanctuaries were founded as Greek shrines on the basal mud of the site. There is no pre-existent shrine in either case and the offerings found are almost entirely Greek in character from the start. The sanctuary of Aphrodite was located in the southern part of Naukratis at some distance from the group of shrines around the Apollo sanctuary (see note 59) and near the Egyptian community. The pottery found in it indicates that its foundation was as early as that of the Sanctuary of Apollo; a very large proportion of this pottery is Chiot which may indicate the nationality of its founders and chief patrons during the early sixth century. The cult was that of Aphrodite Pandemos and was duplicated in the Hellenion after that sanctuary was founded (*BSA*, V (1898-99), 56, No. 107 and *Naukratis*, II, 66, Nos. 818 and 821). This duplication may represent the formal participation of Chios in the Hellenion (Herodotus II, 178). Hogarth considered that the Hellenion was probably built at

the time of Amasis' reorganization (*JHS*, XXV [1905], 136; see also Price, *JHS*, XLIV [1924], 192, 204). Herodotus' failure to mention the shrine of Aphrodite and its location apart from the other Greek sanctuaries prompted the suggestion that it might have been that of the city in distinction to those of the traders (Prinz, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 119).

65. See note 62. Two female names are among the dedications, possibly those of hetaerae: *Naukratis*, II, 63, No. 712 (Iux); No. 745 (Mikis). Aphrodite was referred to as the Aphrodite in Naukratis (*ibid.*, p. 64, No. 768) or more specifically as Pandemos (see note 64).

66. Prinz, *op. cit.*, p. 83; *Naukratis*, II, 60-61.

67. *Naukratis*, I, 62, No. 666; *ibid.*, II, 30-32 and 67, Nos. 833-38.

68. See note 62. The Hellenion was correctly identified by Hogarth (*BSA*, V [1898-99], 26 ff.; *JHS*, XXV [1905], 105 ff.). It seems to have contained various groups of chambers dedicated to separate deities: Aphrodite, Artemis, Herakles, Athena (?), the Dioscuri (a group of dedications was found in a chamber, but they may be strays from the Dioscuri sanctuary), and Poseidon (?). There were also numerous dedications to the gods of the Hellenes on which the identification rests.

69. Cf. the identifications made by Gjerstad (*LAAA*, XXI [1934], 80) with the classifications of Petrie.

70. Lesbian: *Naukratis*, II, 64, Nos. 786-93; Samian: Prinz, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Cnidian: *ibid.*, pp. 82 f.

71. *Naukratis*, II, 63, No. 706; p. 64, No. 757. The most interesting example, No. 768, is the Chiot vase with the dedication to Aphrodite in Naukratis painted before firing. It was presumably made as the result of a special order placed at the kiln by a merchant before sailing. Dedications on Chiot ware painted before firing were also found at the temple of Aphaia in Aegina (Furtwängler, *Aegina*, pp. 455-56). The fragments from Naukratis have been used as evidence for the origin in Naukratis of Chiot ware, as it is now called rather than "Naukratite" (see note 73).

72. Chiot on Attic: *BSA*, V (1898-99), 55, No. 60; Tean on Chiot: *Naukratis*, II, 64, No. 758; p. 65, No. 779; Greco-Egyptian on Chiot: *ibid.*, p. 63, No. 741; p. 64, No. 754; Samian on Chiot: *ibid.*, p. 65, No. 778 (Rhoecus, the sculptor); Cyrenalc on Laconian: *ibid.*, p. 64, Nos. 766-67.

73. Since the excavations of Kourouniotes (*Deltion*, II [1916], 190-214) and Lamb (*BSA*, XXXV [1934-35], 138-63) in Chios, the view that "Naukratite" pottery is of Chian rather than local origin would seem to be accepted (Cook, *JHS*, LVII [1937], 228, n. 9; *BSA*, XLIV [1949], 154). The earliest pieces of this fabric in Naukratis are dated by Cook in the last quarter of the seventh century, but the bulk of it belongs to the first half of the sixth. As Cook has already noticed the Chian origin of the ware and the Chian dedications found on the pottery of Naukratis indicate a close connection between the two places.

74. Price, *JHS*, XLIV (1924), 222; see note 64.

75. See note 62.

76. *Papyruskunde*, I, 1, pp. 13, 51; I, 2, pp. 44 f., No. 27. These indications of the development of Naukratis as a Greek polis at an early period rather than a group of trading factories will be discussed in a forthcoming study of the organization and growth of the city.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

CONSERVATORES OR CURATORES OF THE PAGUS THUGGENSIS?

The following inscription from the territory of Thugga in proconsular Africa seems to be concerned with one or more *conservatores pagi Thuggensis* at the time of Septimius Severus. Yet, the text as restored by Dessau in *CIL* presents some serious textual and grammatical difficulties, and the sense of the document is far from clear. Actually there is no record whatever of any group known as the *conservatores pagi Thuggensis*, though *curatores pagi Thuggensis* are well-known. By emending *conservatoris* to *curatores* and altering the *CIL* restoration it is possible to solve the grammatical difficulties and to make the meaning clear and consistent with the known facts about Thugga.¹ The text as given in *CIL* is as follows:

di u o c O M M O D O · F R A T R I
imp caes l sEPTIMI · SEVERI · PII · PERTin
augusti aRABICI · ADIABENICI PARTHICI
numini eius² SACRATI DECVRIONES
conseRVATORIS · PAGI THVGG
fecerunT · MAGISTRO Q M O R Asio
OSI F · CASSIANO · vacat
EX · POLLICITATIONE · SVA · FECERVNT · D · D ·

On the basis of a squeeze permitting such a reading, the editor of the *Corpus* has altered to *conservatoris* Poinsot's earlier reading of *conservatores* in the fifth line. In that event the form would almost certainly be a genitive singular in grammatical agreement with *Septimi Severi* in the second line, and the person who had earned the title of *conservator pagi Thuggensis* could be none other than that emperor himself. But to this explanation there are two serious objections. In the first place, it does not seem particularly appropriate to turn a dedication to the *divus Commodus* as brother of Septimius into an occasion for commemorating a supposed official act of the living emperor in favor of the *pagus*. In the second place, there is nothing whatsoever to

suggest that Septimius ever did anything to justify such a title, either in his own eyes or in those of the local population. On the contrary, his policy toward Thugga was precisely the opposite, for in 205 he deprived the *pagus* of its special status when he merged it with the *civitas* to form the new *municipium*.²

Both *sacrafi* and *decuriones* should be regarded as nominative plurals. *Sacrafi* would then refer either to some special group of individuals who acted with the *decuriones* or it would be an adjective modifying *decuriones*. Since the first hypothesis would probably require a connective between the two words and also involve the necessity of identifying this special group, which is impossible, it is best to discard it in favor of the second. Taken with *decuriones* the meaning would then be that the *sacrafi decuriones* were responsible for some sort of action.

This accords with Poinsot's original reading of *conservatores*, taking this word as a nominative. The word order makes it obvious that the *conservatores* must be either the same persons as the *sacrafi decuriones*, or more likely another group who joined them in erecting this dedication to Commodus. Unfortunately, this suggestion provides no help whatever toward establishing the character and identity of the supposed *conservatores*. One might indeed conclude that the *decuriones* themselves were able to do something to preserve the *pagus* and thus earn the title of *conservatores pagi*, if it were not for the definite action which Septimius took in 205 to abolish the *pagus Thuggensis* as a distinct political entity. It is extremely unlikely that the *decuriones* of the *pagus* were in a position to accomplish anything of this sort during the few years between the emperor's accession and the abolition of the *pagus*. Then, too, it would be very strange for a body of local *decuriones* to receive such a designation.

There is another possibility, however, which solves most of the textual and grammatical problems and at the same time clarifies the

meaning of the whole document. Let us accept the termination of the word in question as ES and suppose that the scribe or stonemason transposed the first two letters, R and V, at the beginning of the extant portion of the fifth line. This is a very plausible error, for transposition is one of the most frequent mistakes made in copying texts.³ With the addition of an initial C the word in question then becomes CVRATORES rather than CONSERVATORES.

If the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth line are restored as *numini eius consacrati decuriones* instead of *numini eius sacrauti decuriones*, the meaning is immediately clarified. At this time the chief administrative officials of the *pagus* were known as *curatores*. Along with the *decuriones utriusque ordinis* (the decurions of both the *pagus* and the *civitas*), who frequently acted together officially, they declared their devotion to the *numen* of the emperor (*numini consacrati*), and erected a dedication to *divus Commodus*.⁴ The use of *consacrati* instead of the more common *consecrati* should cause no surprise, for in the inscriptions *consacravit* frequently replaces *consecravit*, and other forms in A such as *consacravi* and *consacratus* occur.⁵ With these changes no established grammatical usage is violated and the sense of the whole expression is perfectly logical, for magistrates and decurions often combined to take official action.

However, there is still another problem in connection with this inscription. This has to do with the meaning of the word *magistro* in the sixth line, for since the chief officials of the *pagus Thuggensis* are known to have been *curatores* rather than *magistri*, the apparent presence of a *magister* is, to say the least, rather disconcerting. Two conceivable explanations of this come to mind. In the first place, it is barely possible that one of the *curatores* acted as presiding officer with the title of *magister*. Then *magistro Q Mora(sio)* would be an ablative absolute, and the meaning would obviously be that the decurions and *curatores* took action when Morasius was *magister*. This hypothesis would be consistent with the restoration of this line as given both by Poinsot and Dessau, if the document definitely ended with

this line. But, as it is, it leaves the two following lines hanging in the air; for, if Q. Morasius was the *magister*, who was F. Cassianus? A singular *magistro* followed by the names of two or more persons is an impossible ablative absolute construction. Moreover, in a case like this one would expect either the names of all four *curatores*, or only the name of the *magister*; but the space in the sixth and seventh lines between the names of Morasius and Cassianus is insufficient for the addition of two more names.

Then, too, there is serious objection to the restoration of *fecerunt* in the sixth line. In the first place, it is clear that this is not the logical place for any verb. Besides this, the general sense of the document requires only one verb, and *fecerunt* is present in the last line. Hence it could not possibly have been found also in the sixth line, as restored by Dessau in *CIL*. But, if instead of this or any other verb, the word *curatoribus* or *curantis* were written at the beginning of the sixth line, and the seventh contained the name of another *curator*, the difficulties concerning both *fecerunt* and *magister* would vanish at once.

Finally, this hypothesis makes it possible to abandon the improbable assumption that the *pagus Thuggensis* had both a *magister* and *curatores*, but *magister* must still be explained. Occasionally this word was used as a *cognomen*,⁶ and if this were the case here, the preceding T could stand for the *praenomen* Titus, and there would be just about the right space for the name of another *curator* whose name included the letters OSI at the beginning of the seventh line. Apparently all four *curatores* were identified only by the *praenominal abbreviation* and the *nomen* or *cognomen*.

The complete text should then be restored as follows:

diu cO M M O D O · F R A T R i imp
caesaris lsEPTIMI·SEVERI·PII·PERTinacis
augusti aRABICI·ADIABENICI PARthici numi
ni eius conSACRATI DECVRIONEs utriusque
ordinis et cVRATORES·PAGI THVGGensis
*curatoribusT·MAGISTRO Q MORA**sio*
 OSI F · CASSIANO vacat
 EX · POLLICITATIONE · SVA · FECERVNT · D · D ·

This restoration of the text takes account of the approximate number of letter spaces required in each line, and makes complete sense. It is a dedication to *divus Commodus*, brother of the emperor Septimius, which the decurions of both the *pagus* and the *civitas* in cooperation

with the *curatores* of the *pagus* set up at some time prior to 205 to fulfill a promise in accordance with a decree of the decurions.

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NOTES

1. *CIL*, VIII, 27374. This inscription was first published by Poinsot in *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1910, p. cccxxxii.

2. The two inscriptions on an arch erected to commemorate the creation of the *municipium Septimum Aurelium Liberum Thugga* by Septimius (René Cagnat, Merlin et Chatelain, *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique*, 525, 526) show that the arch was erected in 205. On the African policy of Septimius Severus see R. M. Haywood, *TAPA*, LXXI (1940), 175-80.

3. On transposition see *ILS*, III, Index, pp. 807 ff., especially pp. 817, 823, 827, and 831.

4. From the time of Hadrian two *curatores* administered the *pagus Thuggensis* (*CIL*, VIII, 26615). Later on this number was increased to four (*CIL*,

VIII, 26609). On the general question of *curatores* as chief officers of a *pagus* see Toutain, *DS*, IV, 276. The organization of African *pagi* of this type and the institutions of the *pagus Thuggensis* as well as the relationship between the Roman *pagus* and the native *civitas* will be discussed in the writer's forthcoming study of the double communities of the Upper Bagradas Valley.

5. See *Res Gestae divi Augusti*, xi (consacravit), and xxi (consacravit). For several other examples, see the index to *ILS* in Vol. III, p. 807. Two of these, *viz.* *ILS*, 841 = *CIL*, VIII, 9257 and *ILS*, 4465 = *CIL*, VIII, 12335, come from Africa.

6. *CIL*, VIII, 2147 = Gsell, Stephane, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*, 2881. A few cases are found in the *papyri*. See Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 202 f. under *Mayores* and *Mayores*.

PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE

A committee has been set up under the auspices of the British Academy with the object of compiling a prosopography of the later Roman Empire (A.D. 284-641). Its object is to do for the later Empire what the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* has done for the Principate, to provide the materials for the study of the governing class of the Empire. The majority of the entries will be persons holding official posts or rank together with their families, and the work will not include clerics except insofar as they come into the above categories.

The French Institute of Byzantine Studies are simultaneously launching a Christian prosopography covering roughly the same pe-

riod (A.D. 300-700) which will include all persons, whether laymen or clerics, who play a part in the history of Christianity.

The two committees have agreed to co-operate in the collection of material, since though their aim is different, they both draw on the same sources. They cordially invite scholars interested in these projects to assist in whatever way they can. Any persons prepared to help will please communicate with either: Professor A. H. M. Jones, Department of Ancient History, University of London, University College, Gower Street, London, W.C.1; or Professor H. I. Marrou, Université de Paris, Faculté des Lettres (Histoire Ancienne du Christianisme), Sorbonne, Paris.

BOOK REVIEWS

Die griechisch-römische Buchbeschreibung verglichen mit der des vorderen Orients. By CARL WENDEL. ("Hallische Monographien," ed. OTTO EISSENFELDT, No. 3.) Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1949. Pp. viii + 149. DM 16.

Under the word "Buchbeschreibung" Wendel includes all of the characteristic features appearing in literary works, whether written in tablet, roll, or book form. When certain of these characteristics have arisen naturally in the tablet form of publication and have later reappeared in the roll, where they are not needed or at least seem less natural, imitation must be assumed. In the following chapters he has employed a series of such imitations to prove direct influence of the clay tablets of Sumeria, Babylonia, and Assyria on early Greek literary rolls antedating the Alexandrian Library.

This technical discussion includes a full survey of such tablet material from Nineveh and the other excavation sites of Mesopotamia, the Hittite realm, and Phoenicia, as well as anything similar found in Egyptian papyrus and leather rolls. Second hand sources have been used for this material, since Wendel has no reading knowledge of the Oriental languages, but he has had this work checked by competent Semitic and Egyptian scholars.

After a brief survey of the earliest Greek libraries Wendel handles fully the characteristic features of Greek literary works as they appear in the earliest fragmentary rolls or are referred to in Greek literature. This is the companion piece to the tablet material surveyed in the previous chapters. Of particular interest in the proofs of imitation are the following items: the early appearance of titles at the ends of rolls; the use of titles and of "first words," where titles did not exist; line and page numberings; early existence of book divisions; and finally other colophon material such as name of scribe and source of his copy.

Wendel reinterprets many passages cited by Birt, *Das Antike Buchwesen*, and by Gardthausen, *Die Alexandrinische Bibliothek*. However we may differ on the interpretation of some of the literary passages discussed, we must accept the main point that there was direct influence of the Oriental clay tablets on Greek literary rolls well before the Alexandrian period. This will hardly seem strange to American scholars, who have been accustomed to consider the Alexandrian Library as the culmination of a growth, which began before Peisistratus. Nevertheless the documented proof of this relationship is welcome. Even more interesting is the evidence gathered showing an extensive use of books and Oriental lore in the seventh century at Miletus under the influence of Thales and his followers. Though the existence of a public library there can not be proved, there was extensive use of books by individuals. Furthermore we may be sure that there was interchange of literary influences between the East and the West from very early times and that it did not begin or cease with the conquest by Alexander.

Wendel's book containing ninety-seven pages of text followed by 536 learned notes is slow reading but the four very full indices make it an excellent reference work on books and writing in antiquity. My chief criticism is on his neglect of the codex form, which he mentions only on pages 27, 38, and 52 and limits to the fourth century A.D. and later. In an article which appeared in the Michigan Alumnus, Quarterly Review (Vol. XLIV, 1938) I showed extensive use of the codex form from the Augustan Age on and its probable origin from account books, public records, and student law books. Many others have handled this theme since then but Wendel seems to have had access to none of them. Because of the stress which he lays on the use of leather and parchment in the roll form only until long after the Pergamene Period, this has an impor-

tant bearing on his results. Thus he refers to the use of catch words (*reclamantes*) in the Oriental tablets but insists that these had no influence on the Greco-Roman book since *reclamantes* first appeared in northern Europe in the eleventh century, and spread over most of Europe before they were used in Greek manuscripts. Against this conclusion we may urge Wendel's own argument for proof of imitation. *Reclamantes* were used in codices to show the order in which the quires should be placed for binding. Though used regularly to show the order of clay tablets, there was no place for their use on papyrus rolls, and in the eleventh century when they appeared in codices, they were really not needed since the quires were numbered from their first appearance as parts of a codex. The use of *reclamantes* here is only a competing device for determining order, though it had been necessary in the earlier clay tablets. We are forced to assume imitation of the oriental practice by western scribes, though they are far removed both in time and place. *Reclamantes* were however used in Spain in the tenth century manuscripts of Beatus with sufficient frequency to indicate use by the author himself in the ninth century. A survey of all early manuscripts of Spain might show the usage even before the ninth century. It came to Spain with the Moors and so was probably brought west in the Arab conquests of the seventh century. These minor queries hardly constitute a criticism of Wendel but they certainly point to a definite lack in the libraries of Soviet Germany.

Wendel's work is an absolute necessity for all students of early books and libraries. The extensive notes also contain much material on broader aspects of the general subject.

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Lexis: Studien zur Sprachphilosophie, Sprachgeschichte, und Begriffsforschung. Edited by JOHANNES LOHmann and Others. Vol. I (1948). Lahr i.B.: Verlag Moritz Schauenburg, 1948. Pp. 304. DM. 16.00.

Yet another journal devoted to language. The interest shown in language, by scientists and philosophers as much as by linguists and

more than by humanists, in our own day, is great and growing steadily greater. There is, indeed, a certain crisis in linguistics, of which this interest is symptomatic. Mechanistic linguistics is a logical construction based upon postulates. To it are referred, for description rather than for explanation, precisely those things that have been defined previously in such a way that they can be so referred. Only to that extent may linguistics be said to be *sui generis*, a more or less economical description of certain sets of observations. But this is no philosophy of language, any more than mechanistic physics was a philosophy of science; and it bears no more relation to the world of linguistic experience than mechanistic physics did to the world of physical experience. Viewed comprehensively linguistics is a brand of philosophy. No wonder that there is a call for a broad-based philosophy of language; and an organ devoted to its development should have a warm welcome.

But a re-hash of nineteenth century philosophical speculation will not do. I find at least as much encouragement in Bertrand Russell's *Theory of Meaning and Truth* and in his *Human Knowledge*, or even in Wiener's *Cybernetics*, and certainly in Mrs. Langer's *Philosophy in a New Key*, as in some of the articles in Volume I of *Lexis*. Philipp Frank's *Modern Science and its Philosophy* also touches here and there on problems of language, though much of that book has an air of special pleading about it. I hope too that it is not necessary, for readers of *Classical Philology*, to denounce the intellectual nihilism of such works as Hayakawa's *Language in Action*, than which Lee's *Language of Wisdom and Folly* is hardly any better. The simple fact is that language, like morality, now lags far behind scientific discovery; until its own therapeutic powers are set to work, as they can and will be, to modify our language habits, so that what is now capable of expression only in highly technical terms or perhaps only by formulae becomes part of our common discourse, contemporary difficulties, of which philosophers, scientists, and humanists alike are conscious in their several pursuits, are not likely to be brought nearer to solution.

The point is that language is symbolism,

English no more (and no less) than Greek¹ (or Ashanti), and that language, whether scientific or humanistic (in poetry and philosophy) is symbolic, like the arts—painting, music, or sculpture. This is where the gap between science and the humanities closes itself. All these kinds of symbolism are creations of the human intellect. Now we need new linguistic symbols, like the contemporaries of Aristotle, Ptolemy, Copernicus, or Newton. When a few hundred years, more or less, have gone by, they will have been created; that still others may by then be demanded, is a concern that may well be left to posterity.

Moreover, in virtue of its power of presentation (i.e., the detachment of the symbol from the physical experience), language is a highly satisfactory form of symbolism; and in virtue of its capacity for change, it adapts itself to new observations and to new experiences. Any form of language (e.g., symbolic logic) that seeks perfection merely moves to the end of a dead-end street, and must constantly return to normal, that is discursive, habits of language for refreshment and correction. In this sense philosophy may be said constantly to bring language as it were up-to-date. In the third place, while meaning is certainly a matter of habits and rules, these habits and rules are paradoxically both fixed and flexible. They are fixed in the sense that you must play the rules of the game or become unintelligible; but they are flexible in the sense that a living language is always subject to change, in a state of change, sometimes quite rapid change, as in our own day: *hinc lacrimae illae*. In other words we have a choice, not a wilful choice (that way lies disaster, as witness "nazi" and such like propaganda), but a responsible choice (as witness any sane doctrine, e.g., Russell's "correspondence" theory of truth). Language is both liberating and inhibiting. Meaning is our destination—through the rules of language; but these are rules that are versatile and mutable. It is, in fact, illuminating to observe that much in current popular semantic doctrine is really concerned with linguistic categorization.

Such are some of the matters that come un-

¹ The claim that Greek is peculiarly symbolic, advanced by some Hellenists, is false.

der consideration in some of the articles in *Lexis* Volume I, notably the articles of Lohmann himself. Not many of us, I suspect, were fully aware of the changes which came about during the Hitler régime in the semantic content of, e.g., German *Leistung*.

There are some articles devoted to specific problems, as Büchner's on the restrained use of the superlative in Horace; or Friedrich Maurer's on the historical and archaeological setting of "West-Germanic"; Specht traces the development of I.-Eu. studies from the days of the "Junggrammatiker" to 1914; and Lohmann writes a critical review of Wistrand's monograph on the passive.

I have yet to see any critique of current linguistic theory in Russia ("stадиал" linguistics, the interpretation of language in terms of dialectical materialism).

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La Vie internationale dans la Grèce des cités (VI^e—IV^e s. av. J.-C.). By VICTOR MARTIN. ("Publications de l'Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales [Genève]," No. 21.) Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1940. Pp. xiv + 633. Price not given.

Professor Martin's book has grown out of a series of lectures which were delivered at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva in 1934. They were not intended for a specialist audience and the book has been expanded along the same lines to present the conditions and institutions of Greek international life as a matter of general interest. It is thus designed to strike a medium between the narrative history of classical Greece and the specialist work on public and international law. The interest which Greek history offers for such a study is well conceived by the author: a homogeneous civilization of which the bearers are many sovereign states but which sought in vain for a political expression of its homogeneity; further, a civilization which was interpreted in antiquity by Thucydides, Plato and Aristotle—in historical, metaphysical and sociological terms. The presentation is lengthy, but, despite its length, the fourth century with its development of theoretical Panhellenism,

its growth of federal institutions and its experiments with the general peace is somewhat slighted. The picture of Greek international experiment and creation is thus unbalanced, but the author's emphasis on the characteristics of the city-state, on the alliances and peace treaties of the fifth century has resulted in well developed and interesting studies of these topics.

The first part of the study (pp. 7-118) is concerned with the physical and moral characteristics of the city-state. The city-state, however, is not treated merely as a form by the author, but a living society which has grown to the great variety and individualism which it exhibited by a varied historical conditioning. Thus, the unusual political homogeneity of Athens is stressed in contrast to the fragmentation which existed in Boeotia. The influence of geography in the formation of the states is considered to be secondary and there are some interesting remarks on the questions of "natural frontiers" (pp. 30-33) and the formation of the states, particularly appropriate from a Swiss scholar. The Greek international scene is put into perspective for the general reader by some sensible remarks on proportion in the Greek world with modern analogies and by the well-chosen example of Corcyra to illustrate the bonds of various types which might affect the political freedom of a city-state. There seems rather too much emphasis on the enduring strength of old ethnic affinities in Classical Greece (106 ff.). Was Ionicism a living force in fifth century Greece or was it not rediscovered by Athens for political ends?

The main theme of the book, the forms and institutions of Greek international relations, is developed in a discussion of such topics as: alliances, in which the important symmachies are discussed; imperialism, where the focus of interest is the Athenian Empire; peace treaties, with special attention to those of 445, 421, 404 and the King's Peace of 386; arbitration, in its compromissory and obligatory forms. Here again, the author's concern is not merely with the form as such, but with its evolution and effect in historical terms. Care is taken to avoid a too rigidly logical view of institutions

(see the remarks on p. 127, n. 2 concerning that defect in Schaefer, *Staatsform und Politik*) and appreciation is shown of such evidence as we have of the force of public opinion. The analysis, however, seems rather over elaborate and lengthy for a book of this nature in which new points of view are not presented, but the discussion is well developed and interesting. In particular, the remarks on hegemony (pp. 133 ff.), on juridical forms of imperialism (pp. 354-83) and on the efficacy of arbitration, or rather the lack of it (pp. 493 ff.) are informative and useful. The emphasis laid, however, on the purely military nature of symmachies and their failure as a means to peace seems excessive. The attempts to establish a common peace in the first half of the fourth century do seem to have resulted in driving home the need for some effective guarantee to the peace in the form of a symmachy. Perhaps the author is unduly influenced in his treatment by his acceptance of Keil's view that war was the normal relationship between Greek cities (pp. 393 ff.) which now seems hardly tenable (cf. Hampl, *Die griechischen Staatsverträge* [1938], pp. 1-8).

Professor Martin's book, however, is a successful essay in "popularization" in its better form and should be of interest not only to its intended public, but of real use to teachers and students of Greek history. Its material is made readily accessible by a carefully made analytical index.

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Le Marbre de Thorigny. By H. G. PFLAUM. ("Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études," Fasc. 292.) Paris: Honoré Champion, 1948. Pp. 71. Price not given.

In the present study the author not only has contributed to the decipherment and interpretation of the three famous inscriptions dealing with the career of the Viducassian, Titus Seminius Sollemnis, but also has utilized them to reinterpret in part the reigns of Severus Alexander and Gordian III. The work, though the conclusions cannot always be accepted, shows good workmanship and a power of bold reconstruction.

The three inscriptions (*CIL*, XIII, 3162) are:

- i. A record of the honors bestowed upon Sollemnus by the Three Gauls in A.D. 238.
- ii. (iii in *CIL*). Copy of a letter of the praetorian praefect, Aedinius Julianus, to Badius Comnianus. This is the document which relates how Sollemnus kept the assembly of the Gauls from lodging an accusation against the former governor, Claudius Paulinus.
- iii. (ii in *CIL*). Copy of a letter of Claudius Paulinus to Sollemnus.

Pflaum bases his text of the three documents on *CIL*, the plate (line drawing) in *Revue épigraphique*, II (1914), and an examination of the stone. Particularly in No. i he has been able to fill in several of the many old lacunae. A few points will be discussed briefly.

i. 2.—*IIvir(o) sine sorte quater* agrees pretty well with the marks recorded on the plate and may be correct. However, the interpretation of the phrase in the light of the *Lex Malacitana* as indicating that there had been no tie vote at any of the elections (pp. 12 f.) is very doubtful. Such lively rivalry between candidates would be very surprising at a time when even high municipal offices had become virtual *munera*. It is more likely to mean that Sollemnus volunteered to serve so that it was unnecessary to draw lot between him and others on whom the duty to serve was equally incumbent. To be sure, I can cite no further evidence for such use of lot.

i. 5-6.—The doubtful reading *sacerdo[s] R[om]ae [et Augusti ad aram* is given without any real justification in the critical notes. While *sacerdos* is practically certain, the plate shows ET in a position which does not fit this reading. In the commentary we find: "En effet il n'existe qu'un seul *sacerdos* en Gaule chevelue, le grand-prêtre du culte impérial élu par le Conseil des Gaules" (p. 13). This seems wrong. There apparently was a *sacerdos Romae et Augusti* in certain local cults (cf. for examples *CIL*, XIII, Part 4, p. 23) and a *sacerdos Augusti* in others (*CIL*, XIII, 1642). Sollemnus probably was high priest after all, but this is not the way to prove it.

ii. 6-8.—The interpretation of *in provincia Lugdunensis(i) quinquefascal(is) cum agerem* is questionable. It is taken to mean that Aedinius Julianus, the author of the statement, was not a senatorial *legatus Augusti pro praetore* but a knight performing the functions of such a governor (pp. 19 f.). Here *quinquefascalis agere* is

translated as though it were *vice quinquefascalis agere*. The reference to Aedinius as a *legatus* in i. 21 is explained away as due to a misunderstanding (p. 35). The fact that he was a knight at the time of his service in Gaul is proved by his later appointment to the praetorian praefecture, an office reserved for equestrians (p. 20). The latter argument is hardly valid for a period as erratic as that of the Severi.

Aedinius Julianus plays an important part in Pflaum's further reconstruction of the history of the period. In the *album* of Canusium (*CIL*, IX, 338) he appears among the patrons in the number of *clarissimi*. This, it is maintained, is because the *ornamenta consularia* had been bestowed upon him when he was appointed praetorian praefect. The list of the patrons in the *album* is treated almost as though it were an official list in order of seniority of the leading men surrounding the emperor. The first of the *clarissimi* is the urban praefect; the next four, T. Lorenius Celsus, M. Aedinius Julianus, L. Didius Marinus, and L. Domitius Honoratus, are praetorian praefects constituting two pairs who served as colleagues of Ulpian. The last two of these are known from other records to have had an earlier equestrian career (pp. 36-43). Thus we are presented with two new praefects.¹ The many praefects with senatorial rank are the result of an effort on the part of the group of senators supporting Alexander to win over the leading knights (p. 41). The same group supported Gordian III in 238, and the honors bestowed upon Sollemnus are part of an effort to win support in Gaul (pp. 52 f.). The stage manager behind the scenes was Timisitheus, at that time procurator in Lugdunensis and Aquitania. The latter was in temporary disfavor at the beginning of the reign of Gordian III and was trying to curry favor with the powerful Roman friends of the Viducassian (pp. 59 f.). How successful he ultimately was, is well known.

What is to be the verdict on such a work? The question is not easy to answer. In general, for a period so devoid of reliable information, bold reconstructions are to be encouraged and

¹ Aedinius Julianus and Domitius Honoratus were already recognized as such (cf. L. L. Howe, *The Praetorian Prefect from Commodus to Diocletian* [Chicago, 1942], p. 76, Nos. 37 and 38).

their results carefully considered but not too thoughtlessly accepted. In the use of the *album* of Canusium, Pflaum may be on the right track. On the other hand, it is a bit bold to accept two praetorian praefects without any further supporting evidence, the treatment of the position of Aedinius Julianus in Lugdenensis is questionable, and, above all, the relation suggested between Timesitheus and Sollemnis is doubtful. Is it likely that an obscure Gaul from near the shore of the Channel had so much influence at Rome that an ambitious soldier and administrator would consider it worth while to flatter him? Thus, for the present at least, the verdict must be, *non liquet*.

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Hence the colony probably belonged to those which did not have the *ius Italicum* (*Dig. l. 15.8.7*). Other inscriptions raise, rather than solve, the problem of the relation of the *coloni* of the colony and the *incolae* to each other (pp. 223 ff.), and still others show the existence of *curatores* of the *vici* (pp. 232 f.). The author does not seem to exhibit any great originality in interpreting his material but handles and musters it ably and sanely. One exception is the statement that Switzerland probably sent grain to help feed Rome (pp. 427, 442). This seems to imply a complete failure to understand the conditions of transportation in antiquity, though, to be sure, trade was not confined to objects of small bulk as exclusively as we once thought.

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Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit. 3d ed. By FELIX STÄHELIN. Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co., 1948. Pp. xviii + 659 + 4 maps and plans. Fr. 30.

It is a pleasure to welcome this magnificent new edition of a work already long favorably known. It is beautifully printed and supplied with many fine illustrations inserted in the text. It seems to be intended primarily for Swiss readers who wish to become better acquainted with the early history of their own country or to use it as a starting point for a study of the Roman Empire. It will serve the needs of such students admirably, but it will also be of some value to scholars interested in seeing what Swiss history and remains can contribute to the interpretation of Roman institutions.

At first glance there seems to be a great mass of literature based on relatively meager material. Nevertheless the harvest is rich, and all the problems raised are not solved. The events of A.D. 69 make it possible to see the militia of a *civitas foederata* (the Helvetii) in action (pp. 145, 189). An inscription (Dessau, 1519 a) records an *exactor tributorum in Helv.* (p. 145); thus this privileged community paid taxes. The evidence seems to belong to the period after it had been transformed into a colony, for the inscription appears to be relatively late (Rostowzew, *RE*, VI, 1541 f.).

Les Rutènes: Études d'histoire, d'archéologie et de toponymie gallo-romaines. By ALEXANDRE ALBENQUE with a Preface by ANDRÉ AYMARD. Rodez: P. Carrère; Paris: A. & J. Picard & Cie., 82 rue Bonaparte, VI^e, 1948. Pp. xii + 346 + 11 plates. Fr. 550.

The present volume deals with the same part of France as the author's *Inventaire de l'archéologie gallo-romaine du département de l'Aveyron* reviewed briefly in the January number of this journal (XLV, 70). In his synthesis on the Ruteni, and particularly that part which constituted a *civitas* in the province of Aquitania, the author has used, in addition to archeology, the scant information in the literary sources, the few inscriptions, and, above all, the linguistic material, particularly place names. Naturally he has employed reconstruction on the basis of information available for other parts of Gaul. Nevertheless, he found that the material did not suffice for a real history, and the result is rather a series of studies. Even so it will prove extremely useful to students of Roman history. After all, our knowledge of the institutions of the Roman Empire is based on inductions from material derived from all parts of the Empire, and any careful local study by a competent scholar—and the present study is such a work—will

shake or confirm some facile generalization derived from older investigations and transmitted to handbooks and textbooks or will bring out some peculiarity lending color and variety to the picture. Local studies are, therefore, frequently among the best instruments for expanding and giving vitality to one's knowledge of ancient institutions, and the present volume is one of the more useful on account of the unique importance of some of the information contained in it.

It is impossible to do more here than to notice a few points. The Roman roads of the district are studied in great detail. Of special importance is the conclusion that they were not paved (p. 46). This may necessitate a modification of a common generalization. On the other hand, the generalization that cities were usually unfortified during the early empire gains support from the example of Segodonum, the capital of the *civitas*, the wall of which was built after the invasions of the third century (pp. 55 f., 192). Though there were not many large villas among the Ruteni, the one with a special aqueduct and water piped to the rooms and with other elaborate equipment including tanks for oysters and snails (pp. 251 f.) gives some impression of the luxurious life of the great lords of the late empire. The fact that oysters were brought there alive, apparently both from the Bay of Biscay and the Mediterranean, reveals a rather surprising detail about ancient transportation. Probably, however, most important for the student of economic history and ancient life is the information about the production of pitch. The remains of plants for distilling pitch apparently are unique. Pitch seems to have been extremely important in antiquity, but little is known about its production except for the descriptions by Theophrastus and Pliny. In spite of the studies by Balsan and Loir cited by Albenque it seems legitimate to ask whether more cannot still be done. The plants of the Ruteni certainly suggest a method much closer to one of those described by Pliny than to the method of Theophrastus and suggest genuine progress.

There are many other features which might be discussed with profit, but this will have to

suffice. The book reveals careful workmanship and is well printed and well supplied with illustrations. Each of the eleven plates contains more than one picture. There are also twenty figures, some in the text and some on separate sheets inserted between the pages. These include several useful maps. The indexes are full.

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Trajan's Parthian War. By F. A. LEPPER. London: Oxford University Press, 1948. Pp. xv + 224. 15 s.

This is a review of the evidence on Trajan's Parthian campaigns. It reaches no final conclusion except that a complete account of the war is not yet possible. Three types of problems are treated in as many sections: "The Chronological Problem"; "Strategy and Topography"; and "The Causes of the War." There is also a short concluding chapter giving Lepper's tentative reconstruction of events.

Lepper finds certain chronological difficulties in the chief source, Arrian-Dio, which suggest the need of some independent source. Turning in despair to Malalas, he discovers reason to think that that almost hopeless chronographer has preserved at least one correct date: that of the earthquake which took place while Trajan was in Antioch. Accepting this date (December 13th, 115), his chronology for the rest of the war differs from that of other recent accounts.¹ The whole argument on chronology and strategy, however, is much too intricate to review in detail. Only the specialist can follow it adequately, and he will wish to consult the original.

The general reader will be more interested in the discussion of the causes of the war. Lepper is skeptical about alleged economic motives, such as the desire to control trade routes.² He is inclined to believe that adjust-

¹ The latest cited is that of Neilson C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 217 ff. Debevoise (p. 229, n. 80) follows R. P. Longden (*JRS*, XXI, 2-7) in placing the earthquake early in 115.

² Lepper might have noted that the old overland routes would have diminished in importance after the establishment of direct sea trade with India via the

ment of the frontier was Trajan's chief concern. But motives are always inscrutable, and no one can ever know what was in Trajan's mind. The ancient sources attribute the war to thirst for glory. In support of this view, Lepper brings forward evidence (pp. 198-201) that Trajan's judgement during the last few months of his life may have been clouded by high bloodpressure. In the end, however, he makes it clear that this "last infirmity of noble minds" can hardly have been a cause of the war. The Parthian War was planned carefully in advance as part of a long-range policy, and the theory that its aim was to win glory for the Princeps seems to have originated as a face-saving device by which Hadrian sought to justify the abandonment of his predecessor's conquests.

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Humanitas, Vol. I. Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra (Instituto de Estudos Clássicos), 1947. Pp. xxxviii + 268.

This journal, as is stated in a Prefatory Note (pp. v-ix), proposes to make public the research activities of the Coimbra Institute of Classical Studies, and, while placing major emphasis on ancient Latin and Greek, to pay especial attention to the influence of these literatures on the development of humanism, particularly in Portugal. With the appearance of *Humanitas* the paradox that of all the Latin countries of Europe Portugal alone was without a classical periodical comes to an end. That the journal is for the most part written in Portuguese will occasion little perplexity to classical scholars, for, as Camões observed, the Portuguese tongue "com pouca corrupção . . . é a latina"; there are also French summaries of the various contributions (pp. 259-66).

The volume opens with an eloquent defence

Red Sea (cf. his remarks, p. 159, on Trajan's interest in this trade). But he is probably too quick to dismiss the idea that Trajan was looking for treasure in both Dacian and Parthian Wars. The Roman Empire was already beginning to feel the pinch of a chronic shortage of precious metals.

of the study of antiquity by Professor R. Gonçalves of the University of Coimbra. This contains a number of home truths concerning the imprudence of dissociating the experimental sciences from humanistic pursuits, together with a denunciation of the curious verbal perversion "modern humanities," a term which ignores the fact that these studies are a prolongation of the humanities properly so-called, rather than a distinct discipline. This is followed by a judicious discussion of the arguments in favor of various pronunciations of Latin in the Catholic liturgy by J. G. Branco (pp. 1-16); the author shows the inappropriateness of extending the present "scientific" pronunciation to these rites, which for the most part originated after the end of the classical period. A. Tovar of Salamanca argues (pp. 17-24) that the genitives in "iū" are the result of a process he calls "hypercharacterization." The article is in Spanish. Tovar's arguments appear cogent, at least to one whose initiation into the mysteries of comparative philology has been superficial. The longest, and to this reviewer the most accessible, article is "A crise do maravilhoso na epopeia latina" by F. Martins (pp. 25-76); comment on this ingenious essay will be made at the end of this notice. There follows a comparison by F. Crespo of the story of the city and the country mouse as told by Horace and by Sá de Miranda (pp. 77-89). The most noteworthy difference is that Horace has less of what is described in current cant as "social consciousness" than the Portuguese poet; Sá shows a Christian compassion for the lot of the peasantry which would have puzzled Horace. The final article (pp. 91-111) is a fascinating appraisal of the Latin studies of Clément Marot by A. de Carvalho. The author demonstrates the injustice of Jean de Boissoné's *boutade* "Marotus latine nescivit" by proving that throughout his poetic career, which began and ended with versions of Virgil's *Eclogues*, Marot was saturated with the Latin poets, in particular Virgil, Ovid, Catullus and Martial. It need not be disputed that Marot's Latinity was not on a par with that of such heroic figures as Erasmus or Julius Caesar Scaliger, but he possessed a familiarity with Latin poet-

ry respectable by sixteenth century standards and remarkable indeed by those of today.

Notes and reviews make up the remainder of the volume. The latter are well written, comparing favorably with those appearing in similar periodicals. Of especial interest is a note by F. Costa Marques (pp. 151-61) on contemporary Portuguese humanists, which gives a conspectus of a too little-known domain of scholarly activity. Among the *Miscellanea* it is gratifying to find an *Idyllium* by G. Mora-bito, written for the most part in hexameters, which describes a rustic family scene on the eve of Epiphany, as the household awaits the coming of a certain Befania, who distributes gifts in the manner of Santa Claus. The verse is felicitous and not over laden with *flosculi*; some words and expressions surprise a little, such as the archaism *puellus* for Our Saviour, and there is a nonclassical abundance of diminutives; otherwise the diction is reminiscent of Vida at his best.

In "A crise do maravilhoso na epopeia latina," F. Martins argues that toward the middle of the first century after Christ an attempt was made to revolutionize the technique of the Latin epic, particularly by the elimination of "divine machinery" (*o maravilhoso*). Lucan's poem was a product of this movement; the critical principles upon which it was based are set forth, *καὶ ἀντίφραστιν* by Petronius in *Sat.* 118-24. A third, and minor point advanced by Martins is that the Petronian Eumolpus is designed to be a caricature of Nero as critic and artist.

Was there in fact a crisis of "divine machinery" in Latin epic poetry during the first century after Christ? Traditional Roman epic did not employ this device; it does not figure in the epic poems of Naevius or Ennius, nor, presumably, in the *Bellum Sequanicum* of Varro of Atax; Virgil imported it into Latin literature, but despite the immense prestige attained by the *Aeneid* immediately upon publication, Latin poets between Virgil's day and Lucan's do not appear to have imitated Virgil in this respect. In excluding the gods from the action of his poem Lucan was not acting as an innovator but rather was abiding by the traditional practice of Roman national epic.

"Divine machinery" was not an established feature of this form of poetry; consequently *o maravilhoso* cannot appropriately be said to have undergone a crisis at this time.

The first poet to follow Virgil in making "divine machinery" an integral part of Roman national epic (the heroic poems of Statius and Valerius Flaccus are merely pastiches of Greek prototypes) was, so far as is known, Silius Italicus; he may well also have been the last; it is not however impossible that the gods figured in some of the lost historical epics such as the *Antoninias* of the first Gordian. The *Iohannis* of Corippus, although the poet as a Christian recognizes the omnipotence of the Deity, contains no "divine machinery" in the proper sense of the term.

If the critical doctrine enunciated by Eumolpus in *Sat.* 118 and illustrated by the verses that follow (119-24) are to be invoked in favor of Lucan's epic practice they must, as Martins says (p. 69), be interpreted *à rebours*. In a word, Petronius would be supporting Lucan by setting up a man of straw to combat his view of epic, and justifying Lucan's avoidance of "divine machinery" by making absurd use of this device in the illustrative verses. But the critical observations contained in 118 are by no means absurd; it is in this chapter that the monumental "Romanus Vergilius" and "Horatii curiosa felicitas" occur. The illustrative verses, while not a high order of poetry, are comparable to the average Lucanian output, and the use made of "divine machinery" does not seem calculated to produce a burlesque effect. Although it is by no means certain that the opinions which Petronius here places in the mouth of Eumolpus are those of the author, it is even more perilous to assume that they represent a point of view diametrically opposed to his. At the beginning of the surviving portion of the *Satyricon* (3-4) the schoolmaster Agamemnon delivers a bitter and intelligent denunciation of the schools of declamation fashionable in the early Empire. Agamemnon speaks with the irritation of the exasperated pedagogue, and his views are colored by this testiness, as are those of Mosellanus on a similar theme, but the soundness of the arguments Petronius gives him would in-

dicate a degree of sympathy on the part of the author; in any event it would invalidate the supposition that Petronius' true position was directly opposed to that here taken by Agamemnon.

Martins' attempt to discover a caricature of Nero in Eumolpus is far fetched. This identification is however less absurd than that of Nero, after all a Roman aristocrat and an educated man, with the Levantine businessman Trimachio, which has been seriously proposed in Germany and elsewhere.

Although Martins does not prove his theses, in the course of his discussion he shows intimate knowledge of Lucan's poem and a high degree of sympathetic understanding of what Lucan was trying to accomplish. It would be pleasant to think that Lucan enjoyed the critical approval of a man of such perspicacity as the author of the *Satyricon*, but the evidence at our disposal does not justify this assumption.

On p. 43 *uiam* (Lucan ii. 446) should be corrected to *uia*; there occurs on p. 39 the surprising statement: "Simplesmente juntou [Lucano] à realidade histórica e à retórica das declamações a filosofia epicurista, ou de tendência epicurista, haurida na vida da família." Here "epicurista" is surely a *lapsus calami* for "estóica."

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Die Probleme der Kolosser- und Epheserbriefe.

By ERNST PERCY. ("Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund," Vol. XXXIX.) Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1946. Pp. xviii + 517.

Percy's monograph is far more important and valuable than the average doctor's dissertation in the New Testament field, and, like Cadbury's work on Luke-Acts, should be of especial interest to classical philologists as a model of thorough and brilliant handling of a problem of literary criticism. Few Greek writings have been subjected to the constant and minute study that has been given the documents of the New Testament; and the authorship of Colossians and Ephesians is a famous

problem. If the problem can be settled on linguistic and stylistic grounds, Percy may fairly claim to have done so. There is, in fact, no way of going beyond his work except by the subjective weighing of historical and biographical probabilities. This monograph thus exhibits the limits of objective and subjective study and so provides an object lesson for historians. Patient literary study is, of course, basic. Brilliance of historical tact, while it may add a great deal, is no substitute for it.

Percy begins by analyzing the language and style of Colossians. In many respects it differs from the generally acknowledged Pauline writings no more than any other of the letters would differ from the rest; but there are some characteristic turns of phrase and stylistic habits—e.g., the piling up of genitives—found here and there in the other eight Paulines, which occur to a marked degree in Colossians—and in Ephesians too. He explains the peculiarity of style as due to the nature of the material dealt with, and traces it back to a liturgical-hymnic manner of speech, studied by Norden in his *Agnostos Theos*, which has deep roots in the Near East. (As Professor A. D. Nock once remarked to the reviewer, when such style is found it is as though the author said, "N. B. This is a solemn passage.")

Percy then goes on to show that what is true of the style of Colossians is true also of the doctrine: there is nothing un-Pauline here, and what is said against $\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\chi\epsilon\alpha\tau\omega\kappa\delta\sigma\mu\omega$ (2:8) and $\theta\eta\sigma\kappa\epsilon\alpha\tau\omega\alpha\gamma\gamma\delta\omega\omega$ (2:18) fits both Paul's teaching and situation.

The analysis of Ephesians proceeds along similar lines. The stylistic peculiarities of Colossians vis-à-vis the other letters appear in Ephesians to a slightly greater degree, as though Paul were gradually becoming more and more "Ephesian." The peculiarities of doctrine and situation, even the curious passage 3:1-13, on which Goodspeed laid such weight, are all explained and justified. Percy takes up, one by one, the parallels between Ephesians and Colossians, and finds that both documents are by the same author.

Goodspeed's *The Meaning of Ephesians* is of course the most persuasive, attractive and complete statement of the case against the

Pauline authorship of Ephesians. The Goodspeed theory rests on a number of arguments having to do with style, doctrine and occasion for the epistle, no single one of which would be compelling by itself, but which, taken together, have a cumulative effect. Percy's method is to take this structure apart, piece by piece, including Goodspeed's most important point, namely that no plausible situation for the letter can be found in the life of Paul, whereas Ephesians becomes luminous when it is seen as the covering encyclical for the Pauline *corpus*. Percy argues that the mention of Tychicus (6:21) is not the contrivance of a pseudodepigrapher but on the contrary shows that a definite circle of readers is intended (p. 445), nor did Marcion give the name "Laodiceans" to the letter for higher-critical reasons but because there was a real tradition behind him. The letter was not, however, written to the Laodiceans alone, and certainly not to the Ephesians at all; it was an encyclical, sent along with Colossians to all the churches of inner Asia Minor with the exception of Colossae (pp. 452-56). It no doubt bore some such salutation as *τοῖς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ ἀγίοις καὶ πιστοῖς* (p. 462).

One has only to travel through this part of Asia Minor to realize immediately that such a suggestion is reasonable. We know of Christian churches in the Maeander and Lycus valleys in the first and early second centuries; we know that Paul wrote to Galatians, wherever they were; and later on there were Montanists all through Phrygia. What could be more natural than that there should be Christian churches in Apamea—a large Jewish center—and at way stations all along the road?

But where does this leave us? In a court of law a verdict might well be handed down affirming that Paul wrote the letters, particularly if the attorney was briefed by Dr. Percy. But some spectators might still doubt the decision. What Percy has done is to make it clear that no one can disprove the Pauline authorship of these letters *on linguistic, stylistic and doctrinal grounds alone*. At the same time the peculiarities of these letters remain, and there is the further question of the historical situation. Here the subjective element

enters, and scholars will inevitably differ as to whether one or both of the letters read more naturally as Paul's own or as the product of a devoted disciple. But it is a great advantage to have those facts established which can be established, and to narrow the area of debate.

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Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus: A Chronological Study Based in Part upon the Material Accumulated by the Late Dr. Esther Boise Van Deman. By MARION ELIZABETH BLAKE. Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1947. Pp. xxii + 421 + 57 pls. containing 225 ills.

When Miss Van Deman died in 1937, after having been long recognized as an outstanding authority on Roman construction, she left a great quantity of notes and photographs which, in accordance with her wish, were turned over to Miss Blake. The material had apparently been put into order in 1925 or soon thereafter, and was little increased or modified subsequently. Miss Blake planned to utilize the results of excavation and other research since 1925, to study the architectural remains at first hand, and so to write a comprehensive and, for its date, definitive study of Roman construction. She worked toward that end in Italy from 1938 to 1940, when it was necessary to return to this country. She did not go again to Italy, and consequently the book does not perfectly fulfill its original purpose; but it contains an enormous amount of matter, and Miss Blake was probably wise in deciding not to postpone publication for the sake of completeness which, in any case, could not have endured very long.

The book comprises ten chapters, as follows: I, Types of Evidence; II, Roman Building Materials; III, Stone Walls in Italy; IV, Squared-Stone Construction in Rome and Vicinity; V, Arch and Vault Construction in Cut-Stone Work; VI, Opus Incertum to Opus Reticulatum; VII, Sun-dried and Semi-baked Bricks; VIII, Brick and Tile Construction;

IX, Mortar and Similar Mixtures; X, Concrete. There are five indexes, occupying sixty-seven pages, and "Selected Bibliography and Abbreviations," in eight pages. Though the date on the title page is 1947, the preface is dated January 25, 1946. Few publications later than 1940 are cited; this is regrettable, but requires no explanation.

The author's debt to Miss Van Deman is most conscientiously recorded, not only in the title and preface but apparently for each statement based on the inherited material. It seems that all of Miss Van Deman's information that deals with the Augustan period or earlier periods is presented, even when the site or monument is known to Miss Blake solely from Miss Van Deman's unpublished note or photograph. In some of these instances some further references might be found: Angelucci (*Ricerche preistoriche nella Capitanata*, 1872, p. 5) says that there is both opus incertum and opus reticulatum in the walls of Herdonia (Blake, p. 233); and in Frederick Seymour's *Up Hill and Down Dale in Ancient Etruria*, p. 307, there is something about the fine bridge near Ferento in Etruria, which Miss Blake illustrates from a picture post card (cf. p. 212). As for the "Tomb of Diomedes" at Syracuse (p. 80), could it perhaps exist only in a slip of the pen, like the Triglypha Traiana (p. 4)? Of the 225 photographs all except 56 are credited to Miss Van Deman, and apparently most of the 56 were in her possession, though a dozen or so were made by Miss Blake. They constitute a splendid series for the study of construction, and many have interest for the more general study of architecture.

The impression must not be given that Miss Van Deman is the real author of the book. Not only is the actual writing entirely the work of Miss Blake, but she has evidently done a vast amount of independent research, both in libraries and on the sites. Her chronological conclusions are not generally startling, but she has established for them a broad base and firm foundations such as were previously lacking. Even those with little interest in construction for its own sake will find valuable the examination of the history of many important monuments.

A book in which so many topics are dealt with, in discussions ranging from exhaustiveness to mere mention, and for which there are no definite boundaries (for, as Miss Blake notes, it is evidently impossible to include *all* examples of, say, *opus reticulatum*) is sure to be open to criticism. A captious critic could start with the title, in which the first word is superfluous and the second not applicable to the entire work; possibly the title was tailored to fit the title page, which it fills. But most of the easy criticisms would exemplify the formula, "If that is included, why not this?" The formula applies particularly to citations, which in many cases could be made more numerous, though generally with little profit. For students who read English more easily than Italian, references to Bagnani's version of Lugli's first volume would be useful. For students in America it might have been worth while to say a little more of American collections of Roman marbles (cf. p. 51). The best collection in the middle west is perhaps at Grinnell College; it was assembled by Professor E. B. Spencer and, as appears from information courteously sent by Professor J. M. Bridgman, includes a considerable assortment of labeled specimens.

It looks as if Miss Blake made up her mind that she would not deal with Greek archaeology or its literature more than was absolutely necessary. One can sympathize with that attitude; still, it seems remarkable to discuss Pentelic marble without mentioning either of Lepsius' classic works, though six writers in the Roman field are duly cited. On the same principle, perhaps, Vitruvius and Pliny are quoted extensively on kinds of wood, Theophrastos not at all. And it would have been proper to mention in Chapter X the concrete vault of Upper Peirene at Corinth, which is alleged to belong to the fourth century B.C.

The scholarly legacy received by Miss Blake could be considered magnificent and was certainly flattering, but it carried an obligation that might be burdensome to anyone less interested in the history of construction than Miss Van Deman. Miss Blake was already established as the foremost student of Roman mosaic, and it is perhaps with a sigh of relief

that she writes, "It is hoped that more articles [on mosaic] will be forthcoming when the present task is done." At all events, she has fulfilled her obligation in a work for which a generation of archaeologists will be grateful.

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Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies. By ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON and LOUIS C. WEST.

("Princeton University Studies in Papyrology," No. 6.) Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949. Pp. viii + 344. \$5.00.

Professor Johnson, the leading American authority on the economic history of Roman Egypt, and Dr. West, well known for his studies in the economic life of the Roman world, recently co-authors of *Currency in Roman Egypt*, have collaborated again in producing a volume of outstanding significance; one which concerns not only the papyrologist, but every serious student of the Late Roman and Byzantine Empires. In it they have collected, analyzed, and interpreted the evidence bearing upon agricultural life; industry, commerce and other business activities; the imperial garrison; and taxation from the reforms of Diocletian in A.D. 297 to the fall of Alexandria to the Arabs in A.D. 641. And the conclusions which they have reached differ in many significant aspects from the views generally accepted with regard to the political and economic situation in Egypt under Byzantine rule.

The authors have shown conclusively that in many respects Egypt continued to occupy a peculiar position among the imperial provinces and that its institutions and economic life departed widely from those normal elsewhere; also that institutionally and economically this was not a static period but one of considerable evolutionary development. They insist that great private domains were not the dominant feature in agricultural life but that on the contrary their rise was slow and their numbers and extent remained greatly limited.

Conversely, they point out that the villages and rural population came to enjoy a more privileged position than previously. As a result

of the transference of the royal land to private ownership, the villagers became small landholders, and as owners or tenants they seem to have been exempt from any capitation tax. The villages, too, gained somewhat in administrative independence and were not absorbed into municipal *territoria*. Even with the eventual appearance of some great estates, the peasants (*coloni*) preserved a large measure of freedom and never sank into a condition of serfdom.

In general, the authors consider that Byzantine Egypt, apart from marginal areas in the Fayum oasis, was a prosperous country, and that this prosperity was responsible for the vigorous development of Coptic Christian culture. These and other conclusions are very cogently presented and it is no disparagement of the value of their work to say that owing to the lack of thoroughly satisfactory evidence, the reviewer feels that the question of the extent and character of the large proprietorships as well as that of the agricultural prosperity of Egypt requires further investigation before they can be regarded as settled definitively.

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The Prehistoric Inhabitation of Corinth, Vol. I.

By Mrs. LESLIE WALKER KOSMOPOULOS. Munich: Münchener Verlag (formerly F. Bruckmann), 1948. Pp. xxii + 73 + 4 pls.

This study is based on material excavated at Corinth between 1896 and 1935. The first chapter is devoted to an account of the excavations; the second to a synopsis of the material and the last to recapitulation. Unfortunately the analysis of the prehistoric material is left for a later volume and the synopsis of material presents merely the general results. Mrs. Kosmopoulos intends to make a study of early prehistoric Greece on the basis of finds from Corinth, Halae in Locris and the island of Leukas. Since the finds from Halae and Leukas are to be included in the two later volumes, however, the reader is left with the unsatisfactory feeling that the present volume is only a prelude to more important contributions to come.

Those who have worked on reports with

notes of previous excavators, realize how difficult it is to draw the loose ends together satisfactorily. At Corinth part of the work was done before the importance of prehistoric sherds was realized. The author was able through excavations conducted by herself to check the results of previous work and give order to what had been largely chaos. She contended not only with difficulties on the site but many obstacles in a printing interrupted by war. For the student of prehistory the volume fills at least partially a great gap in our knowledge of ancient Greece.

On the basis of the evidence, the neolithic and Early Helladic periods in Greece are divided into five parts, three in the neolithic. The first period is placed anterior to the finds in Thessaly since the higher level is contemporaneous with the earliest Thessalian sites. In the third period there is considerable expansion and evidence of external trade and influence. In the Early Helladic period, no metal was found, but the shapes and decorations followed the common trend in Greece. The author believes that in spite of intensive influence, the five chronological divisions are but phases in an uninterrupted and homogeneous development.

One would like to see the final analysis before passing judgment on the conclusions. In general, however, results at Corinth do not differ radically from neighboring prehistoric sites and the suggestions made by the author seem sound. The figures in the text are well chosen and the color plates are superb.

CLARK HOPKINS

University of Michigan

Griechische Lyriker: Griechisch und deutsch.

Translated by HORST RÜDIGER. ("Die Bibliothek der alten Welt.") Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1949. Pp. 352.

This beautifully printed anthology contains selections from fourteen poets or sources, with a German verse translation, introduction, and notes. The collection is neither as extensive nor as well annotated as Lavagnini's *Aglaiā*; the introduction is not as detailed as Edmonds' in the Loeb *Lyra Graeca*. But, for once, Callimachus is generously presented while Pindar appears with eight odes. Jacob Burckhardt's in-

fluence is strong in the introduction; it is worth pointing out that he is still the author of the best general handbook to Greek culture I know.

Rüdiger attempts no approximation of the original meters except for the hexameter, pentameter, iambic, and trochaic; even with these he is not entirely consistent. Occasionally his versions are verbose, even for German; at the top of page 119 an entire line of nine words reproduces one Greek word. In spite of his assertion that German is better than the Romance tongues for reproducing Greek rhythms, I think this true chiefly for simple thumpings like the Anacreontic, the hexameter, or trochaics such as those on page 121. The awkward constructions and word order of German make it less suitable for more complex meters. Rüdiger is forced to do Pindar, for instance, throughout in a simple unrhymed dimeter which gives no idea of the intricate original.

I should question a few statements in the notes, but, on the whole, they will not mislead the general public.

L. R. LIND

University of Kansas

Le Siècle de Périclès. By PAUL CLOCHE. ("Que Sais-Je?" No. 347.) Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1949. Pp. 128.

This little volume consists of nine chapters, dealing with such topics as democracy, art, religion, oratory, history, and philosophy in the age of Pericles. The treatment of all subjects is brief; no new material is presented; no startling conclusions are drawn.

M. Paul Cloché is a professor at the University of Besançon. He has, indeed, written much bigger and better books than the little volume under review. Here he is attempting nothing more ambitious than to give an intelligent nonspecialist a panoramic view of fifth century Athens. In this he has succeeded.

Readers of *Classical Philology* should not be misled to think that "Que Sais-Je?" represents a new classical series; only a few classical topics are found interspersed among such modern titles as vitamins and television. A total of three hundred and fifty three booklets has already appeared in this series.

ALFRED P. DORJAHN
Northwestern University

BOOKS RECEIVED

[Not all works submitted can be reviewed, but those that are sent to the editorial office for notice are regularly listed under "Books Received." Offprints from periodicals and parts of books will not be listed unless they are published (sold) separately. Books submitted are not returnable.]

AALTO, PENTTI. *Untersuchungen über das lateinische Gerundium und Gerundivum*. ("Annales academiae scientiarum Fenniae," Ser. B, Vol. LXII, No. 3.) Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1949. Pp. 193.

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INDEX TO VOLUME XLV

accounting, technical terms 185 ff.

Aesop, *Fables* 112

Alexander the Great, and brotherhood of man 161 ff.

Antiphon the Sophist, and brotherhood of man 161 ff.

Book Reviews:

Albenque: *Inventaire de l'archéologie gallo-romaine du département de l'Aveyron* (Larsen) 70

———: *Les Rulènes* (Larsen) 266

Aly (ed.): *Fragmentum Vaticanum de eligendis magistratibus e codice bis rescripto Vat. Gr. 2306* (Oliver) 117

Anti: *Teatri greci arcaici da Minosse a Pericle* (Johnson) 50

Bachofen: *Das Mutterrecht* (McCartney) 123

Bakalakis: *Ἐλληνικὰ τραπέζοφόρα* (Broneer) 138

Bellinger: *The Coins* (Boyce) 197

Bengtson: *Einführung in die alte Geschichte* (Nock) 203

Blake: *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus* (Johnson) 261

Boëthius: *Roman and Greek Town Architecture* (Thompson) 64

Callahan: *Four Views of Time in Ancient Philosophy* (Cleve) 191

Cary: *The Geographic Background of Greek and Roman History* (Kent) 113

Chase and Phillips: *A New Introduction to Greek* (Notopoulos) 141

Chrmies: *The Respublica Lacedaemoniorum Ascribed to Xenophon* (Diller) 142

Ciurnelli: *La Filosofia di Anassagora* (Fränkel) 187

Cleve: *The Philosophy of Anaxagoras* (Fränkel) 187

Cloché: *Le Siècle de Périclès* (Dorjahn) 264

Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (Kent) 115

Cruttwell: *Virgil's Mind at Work* (Woodbury) 119

Edelstein, E. J. and L.: *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies* (Nock) 45

Festugière: *L'Hermétisme* (Walton) 129

Gallavotti: *La Lingua dei poeti eolici* (Whatmough) 138

Gigon: *Epikur: Von der Überwindung der Furcht* (De Lacy) 137

Gries: *Constancy in Livy's Latinity* (Whatmough) 125

Hammerich: *Laryngeal before Sonant* (Whatmough) 67

Henry: *Cétias, La Perse, l'Inde: Les Sommaires de Photius* (Diller) 204

Humanitas, Vol. I (Bruère) 268

Janáček: *Prolegomena to Sextus Empiricus* (Merlan) 205

Johnson and West: *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Boak) 263

Keller: *Eratosthenes und die alexandrinische Sternindustrie* (Solmsen) 69

Knox: *The Trials of a Translator* (Meek) 139

Kosmopoulos: *The Prehistoric Inhabitation of Corinth*, Vol. I (Hopkins) 263

Laistner: *The Greater Roman Historians* (Larsen) 57

Lavarenne (ed. and trans.): *Prudence*, Vol. III (Green) 127

Lepper: *Trajan's Parthian War* (Howe) 257

Lesky: *Thalatta: Der Weg der Griechen zum Meer* (Starr) 53

Lohmann et al. (eds.): *Lexis* (Whatmough) 252

Long: *A Study of the Doctrine of Metempsychosis in Greece from Pythagoras to Plato* (Walton) 130

Lord: *A History of the American School of Classical Studies, 1882-1942* (Johnson) 68

Louis (ed.): *Albinos Epitome* (Solmsen) 63

Manea: *Introduction à l'histoire des religions*, Vol. II, Part III (Whatmough) 62

Martin: *La Vie internationale dans la Grèce des cités (VI^e-IV^e s. av. J.-C.)* (Roebuck) 253

Mazzarino: *Fra Oriente e Occidente: Ricerche di storia greca arcaica* (Roebuck) 194

Mugler: *Platon et la recherche mathématique de son époque* (Gould) 136

Nilsson: *Die Religion in den griechischen Zauberpapyri* (Walton) 129

Nordh (ed.): *Libellus de regionibus urbis Romae* (Diller) 204

Organ: *An Index to Aristotle in English Translation* (Callahan) 133

Percy: *Die Probleme der Kolosser- und Epheserbriefe* (Johnson) 260

Pflaum: *Le Marbre de Thorigny* (Larsen) 254

Powell (trans.): *Herodotus* (Roebuck) 204

Richard: *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs* (Perry) 199

Riposati: *Studi sui "Topicū" di Cicerone* (De Lacy) 55

Robinson: *Hellas* (Roebuck) 66

Rüdiger (trans.): *Griechische Lyriker: Griechisch und deutsch* (Lind) 264

Russo (ed.): *L. Annaei Senecae Divi Claudii ΑΙΠΟΚΟΛΟΚΤΝΤΩCIC* (Alexander) 135

Sayre: *The Greek Cynics* (De Lacy) 126

Sedgwick: *Horace: A Biography* (Strodoch) 132

Setton: *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388* (Joranson) 69

Stähelin: *Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit* (Larsen) 256

Stanford (ed.): *The Odyssey of Homer* (Bolling) 203

Stolte: *De Cosmographie van den Anonymus Ravennas* (Diller) 132

Strömborg: *Grekiska Ordspråk* (Perry) 122

———: *On Some Greek Proverbial Phrases* (Perry) 122

Tarn: *Alexander the Great* (Bickerman) 41
 Taylor: *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (Old-father) 134
 Thompson: *Swans and Amber* (Lind) 59
 Thomson: *The Classical Background of English Literature* (Hutton) 65
 Trevelyan (trans.): *A Translation of the Idylls of Theocritus* (Walton) 141
 Walde and Hofmann: *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Whatmough) 201
 Waszink (ed.): *Tertulliani De anima* (Whatmough) 61
 Wehrli (ed.): *Klearchos* (De Lacy) 139
 Wendel: *Die griechisch-römische Buchbeschreibung verglichen mit der des vorderen Orients* (Sanders) 261
 Westerink: *Michael Psellus. De omnifaria doctrina* (Diller) 142
 Young: *Troy and Her Legend* (Avery) 58
 Zafiropulo: *Anaxagore de Clazomène* (Frankel) 187

Books Received 71, 143, 206, 265

Cicero, subconscious repetition 73 ff.
concilium 96 ff.
conservatores, of the pagus Thuggensis 248 ff.
consilium 96 ff.
curatores, of the pagus Thuggensis 248 ff.

Egypt, and Athenian disaster 209 ff.; grain trade with Greece 236 ff.; economy in Roman period 14 ff.; 186 f.; revolts under Diocletian 13 ff.
 Empedocles, philosophy, discussed 170 ff.
 Epicharmus, *'Οδυσσεὺς abrόμολος*, discussed 167 ff.

Fasti Capitolini 84 ff.; on Arch of Augustus 88 ff.; date 92 ff.

Greek history 26 ff., 96 ff., 209 ff., 236 ff.
 Greek language 108 ff., 110 f., 112, 161 ff., 167 ff.
 Greek tragedy, didactic function of poet in *Oresteia* and *Choephoroi* 183 ff.

Herodorus of Heracleia, fragment from *Argonautica* 112
 Homer, use of personal πολυ- compounds 108 ff.; meaning of προσκῆψ as used by him 110 f.

inscriptions, Greek 209
 inscriptions, Latin 14, 84 ff., 248 ff.

Julian of Ascalon, fathom and rod, discussed 22 ff.

Latin language 36 ff., 38 f., 39 f., 73 ff.
 Lucan, historical epic, intended scope 217 ff.
 Lucius Domitius Domitianus Augustus 13 ff.

Macedonia, government 96 ff., 182
 Mantinea, government 180 ff.

Plautus, *Oedipus*, discussed 39 f.
 Propertius i. 2 and i. 8, discussed 36 ff.; "sincerity" 145 ff.
 Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, an announcement 260
 Pseudo-Xenophon, *Athenaion politeia*, discussed 26 ff.

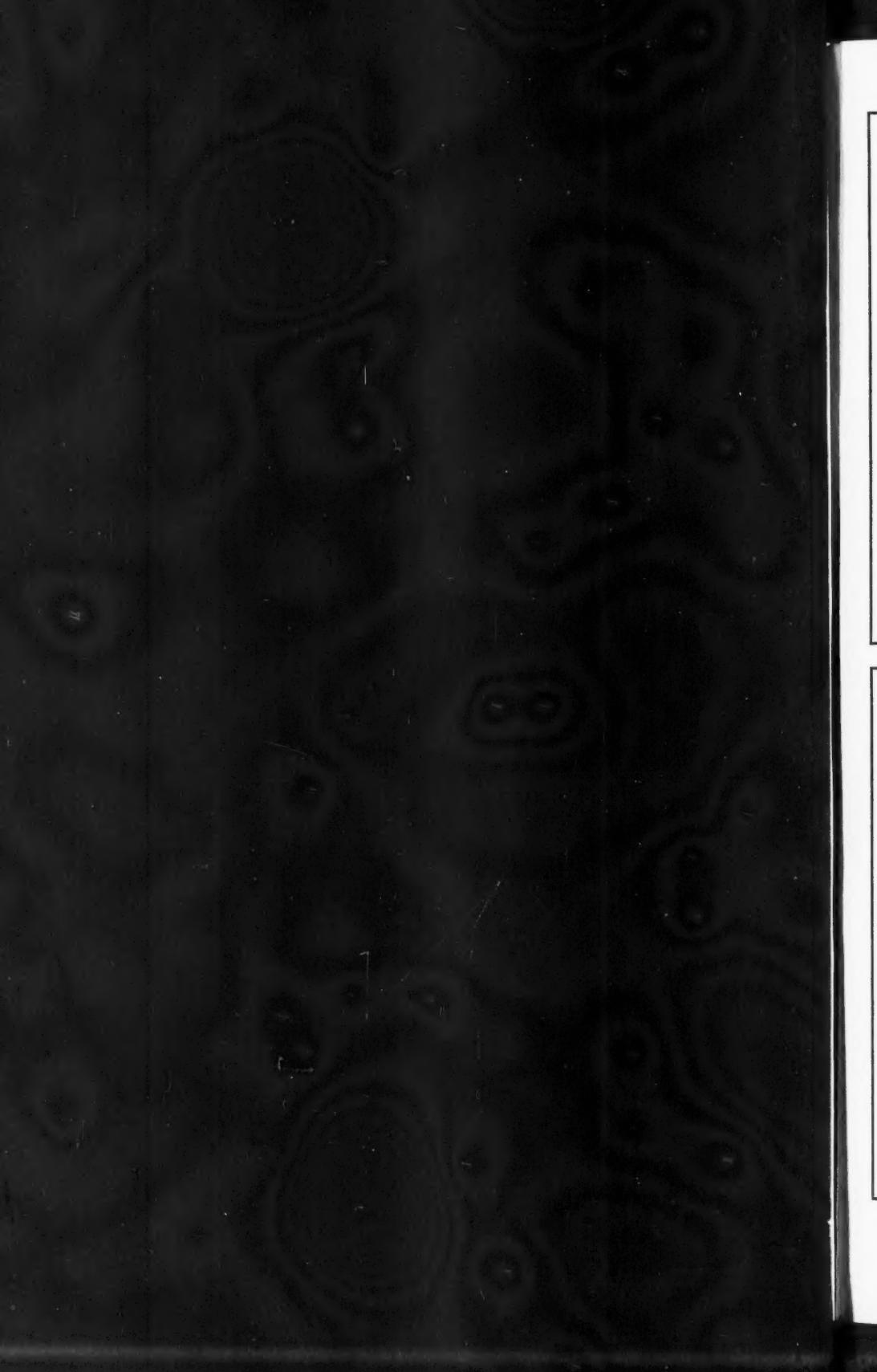
representative government 96 ff., 180 ff.
 reviewers:

Alexander 135
 Avery 58
 Bickerman 41
 Boak 263
 Bolling 203
 Boyce 197
 Broneer 138
 Bruère 258
 Callahan 133
 Cleve 191
 De Lacy 55, 126, 137, 139
 Diller 132, 142 bis, 204 bis
 Dorjahn 264
 Fränkel 187 ter
 Gould 136
 Green 127
 Hopkins 263
 Howe 267
 Hutton 65
 Johnson, F. P. 50, 68, 261
 Johnson, S. E. 260
 Joranson 69
 Kent 113, 115
 Larsen 57, 70, 254, 256 bis
 Lind 59
 McCartney 123
 Meek 139
 Merlan 205
 Nock 45, 203
 Notopoulos 141
 Oldfather 134
 Oliver 117
 Perry 132 bis, 199
 Roebuck 66, 194, 204, 253
 Sanders 251
 Solmsen 63, 69
 Starr 53
 Strodoch 132
 Thompson 64
 Walton 129 bis, 130, 41
 Whatmough 61, 62, 67, 125, 138, 201, 252
 Woodbury 119

Roman elegists, "sincerity," discussed 145 ff.
 Roman history 13 ff., 84 ff., 217 ff.

Scholia Danielis, authorship of non-Servian material 38 ff.

Thucydides, and Athenian disaster in Egypt 209 ff.
 trade, in grain between Greece and Egypt 236 ff.
 Vergil, *Aeneid* vi and divinity of Augustus 1 ff.



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